THE POSITION OF SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLDS IN THE UK.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to investigate the intersection of gender and ethnicity, with specific reference to South Asian women in Britain. It investigates the dynamics of gender relations in households, in order to explore the differences that exist amongst South Asian women. The focus of the study is the theory of patriarchy. The main question is: what are the different forms of patriarchy that exist for South Asian women in Britain? Sub-questions are: To what extent do religion, education, employment, domestic labour, domestic finance, arranged marriages and dowries influence forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? South Asian was defined as women whose ancestors had originated from the Indian sub-continent. Sixty in-depth interviews were carried out with South Asian women living in East London. The findings indicate different forms of patriarchy can be found in the pattern of South Asian gender relations in Britain. One is an extreme form of private patriarchy, another public patriarchy. Private patriarchy takes place inside the household through arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour and domestic finance. Public patriarchy takes place outside the household through the state (education) and the labour market (employment). There are four structures of patriarchy: household, state, employment and culture. Religion influenced whether respondents had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Women's level of education and their position in the division of labour influenced the forms of patriarchy they experienced. Women with low levels of education were in low positions in the division of labour and experienced private patriarchy, these women were defined as 'Traditional' women. Highly educated women were in high positions in the division of labour, as these women become highly educated, enter employment and move out of households, they experience a more public form of patriarchy.

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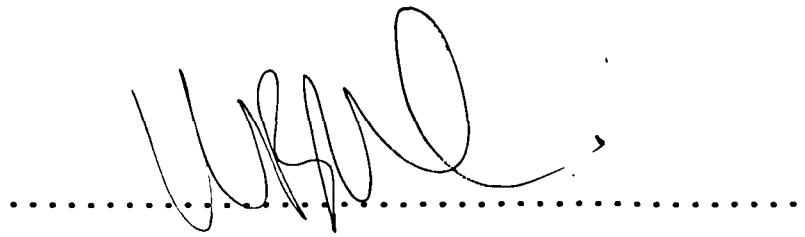
DECLARATION

I declare the work contained in this thesis is my own and the views expressed are my own and not those of the University.



Ms Kalwant Bhopal.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my sister Jaswant Bhopal, who portrays true courage and strength in living her daily life as a South Asian woman.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES i

1 INTRODUCTION

Feminism and 'Race' 1
The Family and Households 6
Patriarchy 7
The Question 9
Areas to be investigated 11
Factors which may influence forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women 12
The Research 13
Patriarchy in South Asian Households 14
Plan of Thesis 14

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction 17
The Study of Gender 17
'Race' and Ethnicity 22
Gender, 'Race' and Ethnicity 36
Patriarchy 42
Patriarchy and the Family 46
Domestic Labour 50
Domestic Finance 53
South Asian Family 56
Marriage 62
Arranged Marriages and Dowries 64
Employment, Gender and Ethnicity 72
Households and Married Women's Employment 79
South Asian Households 82
The Welfare State 88
Gender and Education 92
Education, 'Race' and Ethnicity 97
Culture 102
Patriarchy, Sexuality and Violence 108
Religion 109
Conclusion 115

3 METHODOLOGY

Introduction 117
The Research Question 117
Methodological Options 118
The Methods Employed: Quantitative and Qualitative Data 121
Sample Size 122
Participant Observation 123
Sampling Frame 123
Options 124
Feminist Methodologies 126
The Method 128
'Woman to Woman' Interviewing - The Influence of 'Race' 132
Access 135

Personal Experience 138
The 'Presentation of Self' 140
Educational Status 141
Power 143
'Giving Voice' 146
Conclusion 146

4 ARRANGED MARRIAGES

Introduction 150
Arranged Marriages 150
Marital Status 151
The Definition of an Arranged Marriage 151
The Importance of an Arranged Marriage 154
Type of Contact 160
Own Children and Arranged Marriages 162
Single, Independent Women 165
Cultural View of Single, Independent Women 168
The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment 171
Religion 172
Education 172
Employment 174
Traditional and Independent Women 176
Conclusion 176

5 DOWRIES

Introduction 182
Dowries 182
Were Women given a Dowry 182
Definition of a Dowry 183
Description of Dowry 188
Why Dowries are given 190
The Relationship of Women and the giving of Dowries 195
Whether Respondents would give their own children Dowries 200
The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment 203
Religion 203
Education 203
Employment 205
Traditional and Independent Women 207
Conclusion 207

6 DOMESTIC LABOUR

Introduction 214
Domestic Labour 214
Who does What? 215
How Much? 217
Who Should do the Housework? 221
Why Women do the Housework in South Asian Communities 224
Is a Woman's Place in the Home? 226
The Cultural Influence of Women being Housewives 229

The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment 232
Religion 232
Education 232
Employment 233
Traditional and Independent Women 235
Conclusion 236

7 DOMESTIC FINANCE

Introduction 241
Domestic Finance 241
Type of Account 242
Money for Personal Items 244
Where Funds are obtained to purchase a Washing Machine 246
Decision to spend money earned by Female 248
Whether wife/partner knows her husband/partner's earnings 251
Whether husband/partner knows his wife/partner's earnings 254
What money is spent on by the Female 256
What money is spent on by the Male 257
The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment 259
Religion 260
Education 260
Employment 261
Traditional and Independent Women 263
Conclusion 264

8 ANALYSIS OF LABOUR FORCE SURVEY DATA: A COMPARISON

Introduction 267
The Data 267
A Comparison 270
LFS Data 271
Economic Activity 271
Highest Qualification 272
Highest Qualification, Marital Status and Ethnicity 274
The Significance of Religion and Marital Status 276
Economic Activity, Marital Status and Ethnicity 276
Changes Over Time 278
Conclusion 281

9 CONCLUSION

Influences on Forms of Patriarchy experienced by South Asian Women 286
Structures of Patriarchy 287
Structures and Forms of Patriarchy 292

APPENDIX 1 - BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS 297
APPENDIX 2 - THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 300

BIBLIOGRAPHY 304

LIST OF TABLES

4.1 Marital Status
4.2 Definition of an Arranged Marriage
4.3 The Importance of an Arranged Marriage
4.4 Type of Contact for Respondents who had an Arranged Marriage
4.5 Own Children and Arranged Marriages
4.6 Single, Independent Women
4.7 Cultural View of Single, Independent Women
4.8 Religious Background of Respondents who had an Arranged Marriage
4.9 The Relationship between Education and Women's Responses on the Importance of an Arranged Marriage
4.10 The Relationship between Education and whether Respondents wanted their own children to have an Arranged Marriage
4.11 The Relationship between Occupation and Respondent's views on Single, Independent Women
4.12 The Relationship between Occupation and Respondent's opinions on the Cultural View of Single, Independent Women

5.1 Were Women given a Dowry
5.2 Definition of a Dowry
5.3 Description of Dowry
5.4 Why Dowries are given
5.5 The Relationship of Women and the giving of Dowries
5.6 Whether Respondents would give their Own children Dowries
5.7 The Relationship between Education and Respondent's views on women and the giving of Dowries
5.8 The Relationship between Education and Respondent's views on whether they would give their own children Dowries
5.9 The Relationship between Occupation and Respondent's views on the relationship of women and the giving of Dowries
5.10 The Relationship between Occupation and whether Respondent's would give their own children Dowries

6.1 Domestic Labour Tasks
6.2 Number of hours spent on Housework per Day
6.3 Who should do the Housework
6.4 Why Women do the housework in South Asian Communities
6.5 Is a Woman's place in the Home?
6.6 The Cultural Influence of women being Housewives
6.7 The Relationship between Education and who Respondents felt should do the Housework
6.8 The Relationship Between Education and whether Respondents felt a Woman's place was in the home
6.9 The Relationship Between Occupation and who Respondents felt should do the Housework

6.10 The Relationship Between Occupation and whether Respondents felt a Woman's place was in the home

7.1 Type of Account
7.2 Money for Personal Items
7.3 Where Funds are obtained to purchase a washing machine
7.4 Decision to spend money earned by Female
7.5 Whether wife/partner knows her husband/partner's earnings
7.6 Whether husband/partner knows his wife/partner's earnings
7.7 What money is spent on by the Female
7.8 What money is spent on by the Male
7.9 The Relationship Between Education and type of account
7.10 The Relationship Between Education and where Respondents obtain money for personal items
7.11 The Relationship Between Occupation and where Respondents obtain funds to purchase a washing machine
7.12 The Relationship Between Occupation and who decides to spend money earned by Female

8.1 Economic Activity and Ethnicity, 1993 (all women)
8.2 Economic Activity and Ethnicity, 1993 (women aged 25-30)
8.3 Highest Qualification and Ethnicity, 1993 (women aged 25-30)
8.4 Highest Qualification and Ethnicity, 1993 (all women)
8.5 Highest Qualification (degrees), Marital Status and Ethnicity (all women)
8.6 Highest Qualification (degrees), Marital Status and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30)
8.7 Economic Activity, Marital Status and Ethnicity (all women)
8.8 Economic Activity, Marital Status and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30)
8.9 Economic Activity and Ethnicity (all women)
8.10 Economic Activity and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30)
8.11 Highest Qualification (degrees) and Ethnicity (all women)
8.12 Highest Qualification (degrees) and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30)

1
Introduction

FEMINISM AND 'RACE'

Gender and feminism have emerged as important areas of study which have attempted to explain the position of women in society: the limited access of women to economic, social and political power, the nature of the sexual division of labour and those social expectations about the behaviour of women which limit and inhibit their achievements. This has raised the problem of how equality for women is to be achieved, or in feminist terms how the subordination of women is to be ended. Many feminists have attempted to understand, analyse and explain the subordination of women (Barrett 1980, Millett 1977, Mitchell 1971). These feminists have attacked traditional social theory for excluding and marginalising women and have specifically investigated women in order to include their experiences and render them legitimate. There is a growing body of literature on gender which examines women's position within households and families (Finch 1983, 1989, Oakley 1974) women and education (Deem 1978, Lewis 1983), women's exclusion and segregation from the labour market (Hakim 1979, Walby 1986), women and politics (Currell 1974, Kirkpatrick 1974), sexuality (Dworkin 1981, Mackinnon 1982) and violence (Brownmiller 1976, Pizzey 1974).

However, feminism has always been vulnerable to the accusation that its concerns and priorities reflect those of white, middle class women and conceal the variety and diversity of human experience and subjectivity. Some black[1] feminists (Collins 1990, Davis 1990), are now demanding that the experiences of women who have hitherto been marginalised become a central starting point rather than an optional extra for feminist theory and practice.

Some writers are also beginning to acknowledge their own limitations (Barret and Macintosh 1985). Ramazanoglu (1986) argues the problem is not simply one of acknowledging that

[1] I use the term 'black' to refer to individuals of South Asian, and/or Afro-Caribbean/African-American descent, as a political term.

differences exist between black, third world and white women, but challenging the underlying assumptions that white women are the norm and that the experiences of black and third world women are some kind of 'alien' problem. This assumption not only denies the validity and primacy of these 'other' experiences, but can often lead to simplistic generalisations with regard to all women. It can also deny the pain of racism in which white feminists can be the beneficiaries and perpetuators of the racism that many black women see as the primary experience of their lives.

For other writers, the solution is to develop a specifically black feminist approach based on black women's own experiences which sees racism as the central issue (Joseph 1981). However, the problem remains, just as the term 'man' marginalised women and the term 'women' marginalised 'non-white' women, so too the term 'black women' can marginalise some groups and ignore the vast economic and cultural differences amongst those the term supposedly encompasses. It can also ignore the class divisions and racism that may exist within and between 'black groups'. Nevertheless, the whole feminist project does insist that the category 'woman' is a meaningful one and a critical awareness of the problems involved in the use of such terms as 'white women' or 'black women' need not invalidate a use of the terms themselves or a political action based upon them. On a global scale, this means that the differences between women cannot be understood outside the context of colonialism, imperialism and nationalistic struggles for independence.

Other feminists (Davis 1990, King 1988) insist, not only that issues of class, sex and 'race' are inherently connected, but that a black feminist perspective is the most truly radical because:

> ...the necessity of addressing all forms of oppression is one of the hallmarks of black feminist thought (King 1988:43).

The idea of sisterhood which implies an oppression shared by all women, gives way to that of solidarity which is based on an understanding that the struggles of all women are different but interconnected. Gender divisions are not the only source of social inequality, for many women 'race' or class may be more important. This means simplistic assertions of the universality of women's experience are incorrect. These may deny the very real differences that exist amongst women and, by invoking a spurious sisterhood that takes white middle class women as the norm, can constitute a form of racism and elitism.

Rather than engaging in a sterile debate as to which is the most important, feminism can develop an analysis that recognises the interaction of different forms of oppression and does not treat women as a unitary category that can be abstracted from all other social relationships. Such an approach allows scope for solidarity to encourage a worldwide feminism based on the understanding that on a global scale, there are both underlying patterns of gender inequality and an enormous diversity of needs and experiences that divide as well as unite women. It is not simply a case of 'adding on' the perspectives of black women, but may involve a reassessment of understanding as a basis of that which feminism demands of male-stream theory.

The black female constituency as an object of political analysis is demarcated by the experience of 'race' and gender oppression. The response of feminists such as Bhavnani and Coulson (1986), Carby (1982) and Parmar (1982), has been to establish the specificity of black women and their experiences. A black female constituency is further demarcated in many black feminist accounts by the experience of oppression (Carby 1982, Parmar 1982). It is this, which it is suggested, unites black women and places them in opposition to white women. The experiences of which black women speak, arise from being both black and female in a white society which may be racist. Oppression is organised around 'race' and gender divisions,

with 'race' divisions being accorded a primacy in the establishment of political priorities.

Racial oppression is presented as the result of forms of interaction between black women and black men and British society and a range of British social institutions in particular. Racial oppression is something which black women share with black men. Racial disadvantage and racism can be viewed in terms of practices, procedures and actions which have the effect of excluding, providing unequal access or in some way disadvantaging black people.

Many accounts of 'race' and gender present oppression as an experience (see Feminist Review 1984) in which white women as well as black women experience sexism, but black women will also experience racism. One of the most challenging issues raised has been the need to recognise, debate and explain the extent to which there are differences between women. The recognition of difference and diversity, that women are a heterogenous group divided by class, 'race' and ethnicity, by nationality and religion, by age and sexual preference has slowly gained recognition in feminist analysis. Feminists (James and Busia 1993) are now constructing a greater understanding of the differences and diversities between women's lives, in different places and at different times. The term 'woman' is defined and used in various ways in different circumstances and the historical context of gender relations is specified.

In this sense, feminists (Knowles and Mercer 1992) have attempted to include the multiple 'others'. At the political level, the notion of a 'politics of identity', rather than politics based on gender and class has gained credence. The idea that there is a clear homogeneity of (class and gender) interests is challenged and difference rather than commonality is placed at the centre. Such a politics of difference, also assists in the rejection of a hierarchy of oppressions, that

certain oppressions are more salient than others. Rather than the abstract ranking of relations of power inherent in class, 'race', gender and sexual orientation, the focus has shifted to the ways in which each of these relations intertwine, reinforce and contradict each other in historically specific contexts. Thus, a complex view of feminist politics arose in which women from different class positions and ethnic backgrounds may unite on specific issues, but divide on others. It is important to insist continually on differences, as women cannot develop common political strategies while they have contradictory interests in class, 'race' and culture. The development of feminism has shown the term 'woman' cannot be treated as a unitary category and interrelations of the sources of divisions between women must be identified.

The idea of difference posed new problems for feminism, how to analyse theoretically and recognise politically both power between women and the way in which all women, albeit differently, were implicated in dominant power structures. This provided the impetus to understand and work with commonalities as well as heterogeneity of experience and sensitivity to one another's cultural specificites, whilst at the same time construct common political strategies to confront sexism, racism and class inequality.

Culture itself is a complex term, frequently important to people's sense and identity of self. It is diverse. Communities have different values and ways of life. The definition of culture is not necessarily limited to religious beliefs, communal rituals or shared traditions. These interactions provide a way of life which define a social collectivity. Culture is not necessarily understood as what expresses the identity of a community, but may refer to the processes and categories by which communities are defined as such, how they are specific and different. The diverse bases of cultural differentiation include ethnicity, class, gender, religion, language and dress. Culture and ethnicity are defining and

determining features of women's lives. Shared experience reveals diversity, as diversity reveals shared experience. There will be certain commonalities of perception shared by black women as a group such as 'race', culture and language but there will also be a variety of differences such as age, sexuality and experience.

THE FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLDS

Feminists (Barrett 1980, Finch 1983, Oakley 1974) have argued, the family is the key site of oppression for women and we need to abolish the family in its existing form to achieve equality. Some black feminists however, (Carby 1982, hooks 1984[2], Spellman 1990) maintain that the black family is a qualitatively different proposition from the family structure in which white women are involved. White feminists have responded to this, by acknowledging that black women in Britain live in different family arrangements. Barrett and Mackintosh (1985) regard this admission as an attempt to deal with what they consider the 'narrow ethnocentrism' of the women's movement. They maintain that the family is still a site for the perpetuation of gender inequalities which many black women may wish to escape.

I would argue forms of households in contemporary Britain vary between different ethnic groups, not only between white and black, but within ethnic groups themselves. The family is a source of oppression for black women. Some South Asian women are oppressed in the family, by the form of marriage they participate in, the giving of dowries, participating in domestic labour and the degree of control they have in domestic finance. The specific cultural norms and standards of South Asian families are reinforced through different forms of patriarchy experienced by women. Although black feminists (hooks 1984) have argued the family is less a source of oppression for 'women of colour', this idea has focused

[2] This is the preferred spelling of the author's name, with a non-capital letter.

specifically on Afro-Caribbean and African-American families. However, the family may be a source of oppression for some South Asian, Afro-Caribbean and African-American women.

The term 'family' lends itself to infinite variation, which contains within it choice and flexibility for negotiation between its members over the conditions in which they inhabit a common living space. The position of black women in families is infinitely varied. The family cannot just be divided into black and white. The black family, like the white family, does not take a particular form.

There are significant differences in family forms between ethnic groups and the household may have a different place in the experience of women in a racially divided society (Saradamoni 1992).

PATRIARCHY

In contemporary feminism the concept of patriarchy has received considerable attention and has been analysed as a system which oppresses women. There have been problems with the definition of patriarchy (Barrett 1980) and differences within feminism as to the causes of patriarchy. Some feminists see domestic labour as the main cause of patriarchy (Delphy 1980), others sexuality (Firestone 1974) or violence (Dworkin 1981). Theories of patriarchy have universalised women's experience which may conceal other forms of oppression based on 'race' and class. Concepts such as patriarchy can conceal divisions in society in much the same way as male perspectives have concealed the oppression of women (Collins 1990, Ramazanoglu 1986). Furthermore, the term 'patriarchy' has been criticised by black feminists (Carby 1982, Spellman 1990) who suggest that because of racism, black men do not benefit from patriarchal social structures in the same way as white men and that benefit from patriarchy does not distinguish black men from black women:

> Black men have been dominated 'patriarchally' in different ways by men of different 'colours'. (Carby 1982:80).

This has encouraged white feminists (Barrett and Mackintosh 1985) to be more cautious of their use of the term. However, other feminists (Mies 1986, Walby 1990) argue, patriarchy ultimately unites all women in a common sisterhood as differentially oppressed subjects, all of whom have in common a disadvantaged relation to men and it is precisely this unity which provides the force for resistance. Barrett and Macintosh (1985) see the concept of patriarchy as one with a valuable, but specific purpose, which is descriptive of certain types of social relations:

> ...characterised by the personal, often physical exploitation of a servility whose causes are usually economic and always strictly regulated through a hierarchical order (1985:37).

Barrett and Macintosh (1985) do not examine how and why the concept of the 'patriarchal' helps us to engage with interconnections between gender, class and racism. The substitution of the concept 'patriarchy' by 'patriarchal relations' will not by itself deal with the charges of ahistoricism, universalism or essentialism that have been levelled at patriarchy.

Racial divisions are relegated to secondary importance as the notion of 'race' and ethnicity have been 'added on' to some existing theories of patriarchy. This is highly problematic and in order to examine the situation for South Asian women, we may ask: what are the forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women and how are these different to those experienced by white women? I intend to develop the theory of patriarchy (Walby 1990) which argues there is a continuum between two forms of patriarchy (private and public). I would argue, patriarchy is a concept which can be used to explain women's position within society. However, different ethnic groups may

experience different forms of patriarchy. What are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Do existing theories of patriarchy apply to South Asian communities in Britain? Do private and public forms of patriarchy exist for South Asian women?

There exists a growing body of studies that have examined Asian ethnic relations which have demonstrated the degree of difference that exists between white and other ethnic groups. These studies have investigated families and what it means for individuals to be trapped between two cultures (Khan 1979, Watson 1977). Watson (1977) examines the effect of immigration on the cohesiveness of the Asian family system, whereas Westwood (1988) explores the force of institutionalised racism which exists throughout the social structure. However, such studies have not specifically examined relations for South Asian women within households. The experience of Asian women within society assumes no degree of difference.

Without a framework for incorporating 'race' and ethnicity into models of the family, feminist reformulations cannot be inclusive. Just as feminist theories have reconceptualised the family along a gender axis of power and control, racial-ethnic family scholarship has reconceptualised the family along the axis of 'race'. Studying racial-ethnic families enables us to examine 'race' and gender as interacting hierarchies of resources and rewards that condition material and subjective experience within families. Acknowledging that beyond universal similarities, there may be vast differences in the experiences of women is called for.

THE QUESTION

A specific group of black women were investigated in this thesis, South Asian women in the UK. The aim of the study was to give South Asian women exclusive attention as subjects of study who have been previously neglected in feminist and sociological research.

The research question examines the intersection of gender and ethnicity with specific reference to South Asian women in Britain. It investigates the dynamics of gender relations within households, in order to explore differences that exist amongst South Asian women focusing on: arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour, domestic finance, education, employment and religion. The precise focus of the study is the South Asian community in East London. The most important area for analysis is the household as it is the site of the greatest differences between white and South Asian groups and is hypothesised to be the most important cause of the nature of other aspects of gender relations.

The main question is: what are the different forms of patriarchy that exist in South Asian communities in Britain, in particular East London?

Related questions are: what influences forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Is it religion, education, employment, domestic labour, domestic finance, arranged marriages or dowries?

As South Asian women have different cultural experiences to white women, they have arranged marriages and are given dowries, it is assumed forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women may be different to those experienced by white women.

Factors which were investigated include:
Religion: Hindu/Sikh/Moslem?
Education: level of education?
Employment: type of employment?
Domestic Labour: who does what?
Domestic Finance: who controls what and why?
Arranged marriages: who has them and why?
Dowries: who has them and why?

AREAS TO BE INVESTIGATED

The Household

Whilst the literature on Asian social relations underestimates the diversity of gender relations (Khan 1979, Watson 1977), much of the literature on gender underestimates the significance of ethnic diversity (Finch 1983, 1989, Oakley 1974). The research on households has rarely examined South Asian households and women's position within it.

The significance of ethnicity and 'race' is considered to be an important question, since ethnicity may make a difference to household forms. Households may be different for South Asian women for various reasons, including their cultural and religious definitions. For example, does waged work influence the position of South Asian women within households and forms of patriarchy they experience? How does position in the labour market affect their position in households? The household may be an important site of difference between ethnic groups.

Domestic Labour

A notable feature of some major strands of feminism has been the identification of the primary cause of women's subordination as the sexual division of labour in the home (Finch 1983, Oakley 1974). Such studies indicate the 'invisibility' or lack of importance of 'race' and ethnicity. Beyond universal similarities, there may be vast differences in the role and status of the female in different cultural settings. The aim to focus on South Asian families with their norms and standards is fundamental. What difference does 'race' make to who carries out the majority of domestic labour tasks? Are domestic labour tasks sharply divided by gender in South Asian households? How does participation in domestic labour shape forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

Arranged Marriages

Studies of marriage have examined how the marriage relationship is structured and how women's lives change once they become

married (Bernard 1982, Finch 1983). Such studies have concentrated on white western marriages. What difference do 'race' and culture make to the meaning South Asian women give to their marriages? How are arranged marriages defined? Why do some South Asian women have arranged marriages and others not? What difference does education, employment and religion make to whether South Asian women have arranged marriages and forms of patriarchy they experience?

Dowries

Dowries are a phenomenon which have existed in South Asian communities for generations. They are a custom and tradition which are part of the arranged marriage. How are dowries defined for South Asian women? Why are they given? Why are some women given dowries and others not? How does the partaking of dowries affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

Domestic Finance

Studies on domestic finance have examined what financial control means for women (Brannen and Wilson 1987, Pahl 1983). Such studies have not examined the influence of 'race' and ethnicity. Who controls finance in South Asian households? Is finance controlled by both partners or is it segregated? How does control over domestic finance affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

FACTORS WHICH MAY INFLUENCE FORMS OF PATRIARCHY EXPERIENCED BY SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN

Which factors influence forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? The following section examines the importance of testing religion, education and employment as factors which may influence forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women.

Religion

What difference does religion make to South Asian women's position within households? Do different religious groups experience different forms of patriarchy and if so, why?

Education

What difference does education make to South Asian women's position within households and forms of patriarchy? Do highly educated women (those with a BA or MA) portray different attitudes to women with lower levels of education (those with CSE's or no qualifications)?

Employment

What difference does participation in paid employment make to South Asian women's position within households and forms of patriarchy? Do women in high positions in the division of labour (students, professional, semi-professional) have different attitudes to those in low positions in the division of labour (non-employed housewives, manual, semi-skilled)? Since students have potential to be high earners, they are included in high positions in the division of labour and since non-employed housewives do not work, they are included in low positions in the division of labour.

THE RESEARCH

A very specific group of South Asian women in the UK were investigated. South Asian was defined as those whose forefathers and foremothers had originated from the Indian sub-continent: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. A total of sixty in-depth interviews were carried out with South Asian women living in East London. The ages of the women ranged from 25-30 years and they had all been born in the UK. Three groups were investigated to examine the impact of religious difference, women who defined themselves as Hindu, Sikh and Moslem. Twenty women from each group were interviewed. Ten interviews were conducted in Punjabi and all others in English. The interviews were tape-recorded (with the exception of 5) and the data

subsequently transcribed. The sampling method used was that of the snowball sample. The quantitative data was analysed using the SPSS software package and the qualitative data was analysed using the traditional paper and paste method. Hence, the study was both quantitative and qualitative.

PATRIARCHY IN SOUTH ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS

Two forms of patriarchy can be found in the pattern of South Asian gender relations in Britain. Private patriarchy takes place inside the household through arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour and domestic finance. Public patriarchy takes place outside the household through the state (education) and the labour market (employment). Highly educated women are in high positions in the division of labour and experience public patriarchy, these women are defined as 'Independent' women. Women with lower levels of education are in low positions in the division of labour and experience private patriarchy, these women are defined as 'Traditional' women.

PLAN OF THESIS

This chapter has introduced the subject of study, outlined the aims of the study and the research question, investigated the focus of analysis and demonstrated the importance of the research.

The following chapter will provide a critical analysis of previous literature focusing on: the study of gender, 'race' and ethnicity, the relationship of gender, 'race' and ethnicity; the concept of patriarchy, patriarchy and the family; domestic labour, domestic financial organisation; the South Asian family, marriage, arranged marriages and dowries; employment, gender and ethnicity, the household and married women's employment, South Asian households; the welfare state, gender and education, education, 'race' and ethnicity; culture, patriarchy, sexuality and violence and finally religion.

Chapter 3 will provide an outline of the methodology. It will

begin by discussing the different methodological options that were available and then discuss the methods employed in the study. The chapter will then discuss sample size and sampling frame and the use of a feminist methodology and how my structural position as a South Asian woman influenced my research. This will include examining 'race', gender, status and questions of access, personal experience, the 'presentation of self' and issues of power.

Chapter 4 will examine the importance of arranged marriages and discuss how arranged marriages contribute to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women. How are arranged marriages defined? Why do some South Asian women have arranged marriages and others not? What difference do education, employment and religion make to whether South Asian women have arranged marriages?

Chapter 5 will discuss the phenomenon of dowries. Why are dowries given in South Asian communities? What is the relationship of women and the giving of dowries? How do dowries affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? What difference do education, employment and religion make to whether women were given a dowry?

Chapter 6 will analyse domestic labour in South Asian households. Who carries out the majority of domestic labour tasks? Is a woman's place in the home? What is the cultural influence of women being housewives? How does participation in domestic labour shape forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

Chapter 7 will examine domestic finance in South Asian households. What type of accounts do men and women have? Do respondents have access to money at any time? Where do respondents obtain money for personal items from? What does domestic financial organisation tell us about forms of patriarchy in South Asian households?

Chapter 8 will provide recent statistics on education, employment and marital status. It will analyse data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) to look at comparisons between South Asian and other ethnic groups and use the LFS data to test if my sample was representative of the national data. It will then go on to analyse changes over time and the significance of marital status. Finally, chapter 9 will provide a theory of patriarchy for South Asian gender relations in Britain and a conclusion and summary of findings.

2
Literature Review

INTRODUCTION

The thesis examines the intersection of gender and ethnicity with specific reference to South Asian women in Britain and asks, what are the different forms of patriarchy that exist for South Asian women in Britain? It investigates the dynamics of gender relations within the household and will explore the differences that exist amongst South Asian women focusing on arranged marriages, dowries, education, employment, domestic labour, domestic finance and religion. This chapter will provide an overview and critical analysis of previous literature. It will examine gender and feminism and how it has dealt with the position of women in society. It will examine 'race' and ethnicity, the interrelationship of gender, 'race', and ethnicity, the concept of patriarchy, patriarchy and the family, domestic labour, domestic finance and South Asian families. It will then go on to examine marriage in Western society, arranged marriages and dowries in South Asian communities, employment, gender and ethnicity, households and married women's employment and South Asian households. In the final part of the chapter, the welfare state will be discussed as well as gender and education, education, 'race' and ethnicity, culture, patriarchy, sexuality and violence and religion. Each section will provide a critical analysis of the relevance of the literature and its relationship to the questions the thesis addresses.

THE STUDY OF GENDER

This section will outline the different theoretical approaches that have attempted to explain women's subordination in society, and provide a critical analysis of the approaches.

The first wave of feminism began at the end of the eighteenth century up to the 1960's. The second wave of feminism is based upon writings from the 1960's to the 1990's. Since the late eighteenth century, women's position in society had been excluded from sociological theory and understanding. Women had seldom appeared in analyses and discussions of who has power in

society. The inequalities that existed between men and women were deemed practically unimportant and theoretically uninteresting. However, gender and feminist thought now sees women and their situation as being central to academic analysis and asks, why is it that men in most societies have power over women and how can this be changed? It seeks to understand society in order to challenge and change it. The study of gender and feminism attempts to understand the relationship between the sexes as one of inequality, subordination, oppression and difference. Rather than talking of gender and feminism as a unified body of thought, it is possible to identify a number of distinct feminist positions. Here, the approaches most commonly identified are those of liberal, Marxist and radical feminism, as well as the dual systems approach and black feminism.

Liberal feminists examine the denial of equal rights to women in education and employment. They argue, women's disadvantaged position in society is related to specific prejudices against women. In relation to this, they also examine sexist attitudes towards women which act to sustain the situation. This approach has examined the lives of women by focusing on domestic labour (Oakley 1974) and women's employment (Martin and Roberts 1984). Liberal feminism has been criticised for failing to deal with the origins of patriarchal attitudes and the relationship between different forms of inequality.

Marxists feminists however, argue gender inequality derives from capitalism, where men's domination of women is a by-product of capital's domination over labour. Class relations are the most important features of the social structure which determine gender relations. Some Marxist feminists (Seecombe 1974) argue, the family is considered to benefit capital by providing the day to day care of the workers and producing the next generation of workers for capitalism. Other Marxist feminists (Barrett 1980) have argued, the need for a less economistic analysis of capitalism and gender relations.

Marxist feminists have been criticised for being too narrowly focused on capitalism and being unable to deal with gender relations in non-capitalist societies and for reducing gender inequality to capitalism.

According to radical feminists, both these theories ignore the nature and ubiquity of male power. Radical feminism was first fully articulated in the late 1960's and it argues that men's patriarchal power over women is the primary power relationship in human society. It further argues, that this power is not confined to the public worlds of economic and political activity, but that it characterises all relationships between the sexes including the most intimate. This insistence, that the 'personal is political', involves a re-definition of power and politics. Hence it challenges the assumptions of political theory, which is itself seen as an instrument of male domination that justifies or conceals the reality of male power and its bases in 'private' life. Some radical feminists (Brownmiller 1976, Firestone 1974) see male violence as the cause of women's oppression, whilst others (Rich 1980) state sexuality itself is seen as a major site of male domination. Radical feminists have been criticised for being essentialist, reductionist and for a false universalism which does not examine historical change or the divisions between women based on ethnicity and class.

Dual systems theory examines the interrelationship of capitalism and patriarchy to explain women's position within the labour market (Cockburn 1983, Hartmann 1981a). Hartmann (1981a) has argued that although they have become bound up with each other, neither of these 'dual systems' can be reduced to the other. Hartmann (1981b) states job segregation by sex is central to men's control over women in all aspects of society. Men exclude women from the better areas of paid work and so women are exploited.

However, other writers have rejected the dual-systems approach

and argue that what we now have is a unified system of capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein 1981, Jaggar 1983, Vogel 1983, Young 1981). Walby (1990:140) however, does not reject the dual-systems approach, but has criticised Hartmann's (1981a) theory, and argues there is more tension between the two systems of capital and patriarchy than is suggested and ethnic variation and inequality needs to be taken more fully into account. Westwood (1984) provides a dual-systems account which explores the intersection of gender and 'race' in factory work.

A contested area of gender and feminism is the alleged racism of these studies, (Amos and Parmar 1984, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Barrett and Macintosh 1985, Brah 1992, Brittan and Maynard 1984, Carby 1982, Davis 1981, hooks 1982, 1984, 1991, Knowles and Mercer 1991, 1992, Moraga and Anzaldua 1981, Parmar 1982, Tang Nain 1991), this perspective has come to be known as 'Black Feminism'.

Much as feminists have attacked traditional political theory for excluding or marginalising women, feminism itself has been accused of universalising the assumptions and needs of white women in Europe and America and largely ignoring the very different perspectives of black and third world women. Indeed, its very use of such terms suggests that white first world women are seen as the norm to which other groups may be added, as well as concealing the vast differences amongst the women so labelled. Some of the practices of mainstream feminisms demonstrate an insensitivity to the experiences of black women and the entire black population (Amos and Parmar 1984, Bryan et al 1985). The concepts of 'patriarchy' and the 'family' were singled out as problematic in their application to black women, (see the section on Patriarchy and Patriarchy and the Family), as were 'reproduction', 'abortion' and 'male violence' (Tang Nain 1991).

Some women (Joseph 1981, Lorde 1981) are now demanding that the

experiences of women who have hitherto been marginalised become a central starting point, rather than an optional extra, for feminist theory and practice and that existing approaches can be discarded along with male theory. Others (Davis 1990, King 1988) argue that the limitations of present theories can be overcome, and there is in general a greater sensitivity to such issues than amongst Western feminists in the past.

Black feminists (Bergmann 1980a, 1980b, Brah and Shaw 1992, Collins 1990, Dex 1983, hooks 1984, Mama 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Phizacklea 1983, 1988, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995, Spellman 1990, Wallace 1982, Warrier 1988, Westwood 1988) have argued, the labour market experiences of black women are different to those of white women due to the racist structures which exist in paid work. Hence, there are significant differences between black and white women which need to be taken into account. As a result of their ethnic identity, the chief sites of oppression for black women may be different to those for white women (hooks 1984, Parmar 1982). For example, hooks (1984) has argued, the family is not a site of oppression for black women, rather it is seen as a site of resistance and solidarity against racism. This is also supported by other writers (Amos and Parmar 1984, Carby 1982, Flax 1982, Lees 1986). Furthermore, the intersection of ethnicity and gender may alter ethnic and gender relations themselves, by the particular ways in which ethnic and gender relations have interacted historically (Walby 1990). For black feminist writings, racism is considered to be of significant political concern in which the inequalities between men and women may take different forms.

This section has outlined the different theoretical approaches that have attempted to explain women's subordination in society. The following sections will examine the different areas which are to be investigated in the thesis and how these have been explained and analysed in previous research.

'RACE' AND ETHNICITY

This section will examine issues of 'race' and ethnicity and theories of racial difference within Sociology. It will provide a critical analysis of research carried out on 'race' and its relevance. Since the main question of focus is South Asian women in Britain, it is important to investigate the effects of 'race' upon the lives of South Asian women.

The study of 'race relations' in British society has until recently concentrated on a narrow range of issues. Sociological studies have focused on particular communities or on discrimination in certain areas (employment, housing and education). There has been a growing interest in issues of 'race' and racism by researchers from a variety of disciplines including sociology, political science, anthropology and history (Goldberg 1990, Rex and Mason 1986). There have been many debates which examine the relationship between culture and identity (Grossberg et al 1992, Rutherford 1990). There has also been a growth in this interest by feminists which is evident in more recent studies (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Brah 1992, Collins 1990, Guillaumin 1995, hooks 1991, James and Harris 1993, Ramazanoglu 1989). Some have begun to explore the changing dynamics of culture, 'race' and ethnicity in shaping the position of both white and black women in British society (Brah 1992, Parmar 1990, Ware 1992). Whereas, others have pointed out how an acknowledgment of the ways in which 'race' class and gender interrelate are relevant. Struggles against racism for instance are inextricably linked to other socialist and feminist struggles (Davis 1981, hooks 1982). This has extended the study of 'race', beyond the narrow confines that previously dominated the study of 'race' and 'race relations'.

Contemporary social theorists are not in agreement about the meaning of the concept 'race' (and racism) (Goldberg 1990, 1993, Miles 1989, Solomos and Back 1993, 1995a, 1995b). In recent years, a debate has developed around the terminology used by social scientists to discuss these issues. Although it

has been recognised that 'races' do not exist in any scientifically meaningful sense, in many societies people have often acted as if 'race' exists as a fixed objective category. Common sense conceptions of 'race' have relied on classificatory variables such as skin colour, country of origin, religion, nationality and language to define different groups of people.

Racism is broadly defined as those ideologies and social processes which discriminate against others on the basis of their different racial membership. Here, racism is seen as an idea of biological or cultural superiority, but this has been replaced by contemporary forms of discourse by a concern with culture and ethnicity as historically fixed categories. In societies such as Britain, racism is produced and reproduced through political discourse, the media, the education system and other institutions (Layton-Henry 1992, Saggar 1992, Solomos 1993).

Many sociologists have looked at theories of racial and ethnic difference and their social meanings in various historical, social, political and economic contexts. The definition of key concepts such as 'race', 'race relations' and 'racism' remains an area of disagreement. This can be seen on the debate surrounding the 'race relations problematic' and the utility of 'race' as a social scientific concept (Banton 1991, CCCS 1982, Gilroy 1987, 1990a, Miles 1982, 1989, 1993,).

Early work on 'race' (Myrdal 1969, Park 1950, Van de Berghe 1967a, 1967b) helped to establish what came to be known as the study of 'race relations'. In the British context, the emergence of 'race' studies during the 1940's and 1950's were concerned with the issue of 'coloured immigrants' and the reaction to them by white Britain and the role of colonial history in determining popular conceptions of colour and 'race' within British society. At this time, writers such as Glass (1960) and Patterson (1963) were critical of attempts to

subsume the situation of black immigrants under generalised categories of 'race relations'. Since the 1960's, heated political and theoretical debates have led to what Miles refers to as a process of 'conceptual inflation' (Miles 1989:41), resulting in the usage of the term 'racism' to cover disparate sets of ideas and socio-political relations. There was a relative absence of a clear theoretical perspective about what constituted the object of analysis and an absence of a wider socio-political perspective about what the relationship between 'race relations' and other kinds of social relations entailed.

By the 1960's there was a growth of interest in 'race relations'. Michael Banton's **Race Relations** (1967) examines 'race relations' from a global and historical perspective, concentrating on situations of cultural contact, beliefs about the nature of 'race' and the social relations constructed on the basis of racial categories. Banton identified six basic orders of 'race relations': institutionalised contact, acculturation, domination, paternalism, integration and pluralism (Banton 1967). During this time, the 'race relations problematic' came to be the dominant approach in this field (Banton 1991).

At this time, the publication of John Rex's **Race Relations in Sociological Theory** (1970), was an attempt to provide a theoretical grounding for research in this field. Rex (1970) was interested in two questions: to what extent black immigrants were incorporated into welfare state institutions and to what extent they had access to housing, education and employment. He explored the consequences of the development of racial inequality for the development of a 'racialised' consciousness among both white and black groups. These questions provided the focus of his studies and his work on 'race relations' policies (Rex and Moore 1967, Rex and Tomlinson 1979). He also discussed the idea of an 'underclass', whereby members of minority groups formed their own organisations and became effectively a separate underprivileged

class.

In the 1970's, Zubaida (1972) wrote of the atheoretical and ahistorical nature of many of the studies on 'race relations'. The studies concentrated on attitudes, prejudice and discrimination, were uninformative and often led to narrow ethnocentrism and simplistic 'common-sense' interpretations.

Few of the influential studies of this period analysed the political context which structured the meanings attached to 'race and racism'. Questions about issues such as 'race' and also gender received relatively little attention and when they did, they had been 'added on' to existing analytic models.

The early 1980's saw the emergence of a number of substantial criticisms of the research agenda on 'race relations', written largely from a Marxist perspective. Such criticisms were influenced by both theoretical and political considerations and helped to stimulate new areas of debate.

Classical Marxism contains no treatment of the dynamics of 'race' and class. Even though the works of Marx (1954) and Engels (1940) have some reference to racial and ethnic relations, they contain little historical or theoretical reflection on the role of such processes in the capitalist mode of production as a whole. Some critiques have argued, that several statements on 'race' by Marx and Engels reveal traces of the dominant racial stereotypes of their time and an uncritical usage of racist imagery (Robinson 1983). Alternatively, a number of criticisms of Marxism have argued that the reliance by Marxists on the concept of class has precluded them from analysing racial and ethnic phenomena in their own right, short of subsuming them under wider social relations or treating them as a superstructural phenomenon (Banton 1983a, Parkin 1979).

It was assumed in the early days that there was something about

'race' which gave rise to a distinctive kind of group relations, it was physical make-up which determined the social relations so the emphasis was on 'race' in 'race relations' (Banton 1983b). This was inadequate as other group markers were not considered, such as class, nation and religion. Banton (1983a) argues, that there is nothing in the relations between people considered to be of a different 'race', that cannot also be found in the relations between people considered to be of the same 'race'. The study of 'race relations' can be, to some extent, what scholars choose to make it.

Miles (1982, 1986) provided a theoretical critique of the approaches of Banton (1983b) and Rex (1983). The starting point of Miles' critique was his opposition to the existence of a sociology of 'race' and his view that the object of analysis should be racism, which he viewed as integral to the process of capital accumulation (Miles 1982, 1986). For Miles, the idea of 'race' refers to a human construct, an ideology with regulatory power within society. While Rex (1983) is concerned with models of social action, Miles is concerned with the analytical and objective status of 'race' as a basis of action (Miles 1982:42). 'Race' is thus an ideological effect, a mask which hides real economic relationships (Miles 1984). Thus the forms of class consciousness which are legitimate for Miles must ultimately be reduced to economic relations which are hidden within the regulatory process of racialisation.

For Miles, the politics of 'race' is narrowly confined to the struggle against racism. He concludes that it is not 'race', but racism which can be the modality in which class is lived and fought through (Miles 1988:447).

Another influential critique of the Sociology of 'race' in the early 1980's emanated from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). The authors argued, there was a need to analyse the complex processes through which 'race' is constructed as a social and political relation. They emphasised that the 'race'

concept is not simply confined to a process of regulation operated by the state, but that the meaning of 'race' as a social construction is contested and fought over. Gilroy (1987:236) has argued, an inclusive notion of black identity can prevail and at the same time allow heterogeneity of natural and cultural origins within this constituency. For Gilroy, the crucial question here is the extent to which notions of 'race' can be reforged into a political movement of opposition.

Other authors have talked of the emergence of a 'new racism' which is defined by the way it mobilises notions of culture and nation to construct a definition of the British nation, which excludes those of a different cultural, ethnic or racial background from the national collectivity (Barker 1981, CCCS 1982, Gilroy 1987, Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

Out of this large body of research and historical writings many themes have emerged. These have centred on: the question of the autonomy of racism from class relations, the role of the state and political institutions in relation to racial and ethnic issues, the impact of racism on the structure of the working class, the dynamics of class struggle and political organisations and finally the processes through which racist ideologies are produced and reproduced.

Many radical writers in this field have begun to point to the need to analyse the dynamics of racial and ethnic identities in Britain and other European societies (Ball and Solomos 1990, Gilroy 1990b, Hall 1991, Rattansi 1992, Rex 1986, Small 1994). Additionally, a number of writers have begun to question whether the use of a general category like 'black' to describe all racial minorities in British society has the effect of simplifying the complex ethnic, cultural and religious identities that characterise minority communities (Ali 1991, Anthias and Yuval- Davis 1983, Brah 1992, Hazareesingh 1986, James 1986, Mama 1984, Modood 1988, 1994, Murphy and Livingstone 1985, Parmar 1990, Tang Nain 1991, Westwood and

Bhachu 1988).

Zubaida (1970) has argued:

> The categories of 'race', colour and ethnicity, although they refer to group characteristics that may be socially salient, are not necessarily adequate sociological designations. The situations of 'racial', ethnic and migrant groups differ widely and qualitatively within each society, between societies and at different historical periods. 'Race relations' are far from being homogenous. What gives them their apparent homogeneity is their common definition as a social problem. (1970:2)

A focus on colour as the basis of uniting and mobilising those who suffer from racial discrimination falsely equates racial discrimination with colour discrimination. While proponents of the concept 'black' recognise how class is interrelated with 'race', they overlook how cultural differences can also disadvantage and be the basis of discrimination. An emphasis on discrimination against 'black' people systematically obscures the cultural antipathy to Asians (and others), how South Asian cultures and religions have been racialised and the elements of discrimination that South Asians (and others) suffer.

Some writers (Anthias 1992) have argued, there is a need to disconnect the concepts of 'race' and 'racism'. Anthias states, it is necessary to retain a sociological concept of 'race', the notion of 'race' biologically defined need not imply racism and racism may occur where biological determinism is not invoked. Mason (1994) however, argues against the disconnection of 'race' and racism. Whereas Miles (1989) has pointed out, hierarchisation has historically been a feature of concepts of 'race'. If 'race' exists as a construct, it is because it is linked socially to racism and it is for this reason that Miles seeks to banish the term from social scientific analysis. For some writers the term racism is to be restricted to the realm of ideas or ideologies, expressive of a particular set of ideational representations of material social relations (Banton 1970, Miles 1989). For others, it is a concept denoting both

ideational phenomena (attitudes, beliefs, ideologies), social actions and structural locations. The notion of institutional racism has often been invoked to express this last idea (Carmichael and Hamilton 1968).

Mason (1994) states, if we are to retain the term 'racism' it should be reserved for those situations in which groups of people are hierarchically distinguished from one another on the basis of some notion of stock difference and where symbolic representations are mobilised which emphasise the social and cultural relevance of biologically rooted characteristics. Guillaumin (1972, 1980, 1988) however, suggests that the use of the concept 'race' necessarily indicates that certain social relationships are natural and are therefore inevitable. We also have to sociologise the concept 'race' and analyse sensitively and systematically its place in the construction and maintenance of social boundaries.

Recent research has pointed the way in which many multi-ethnic communities everyday processes involve a dialogue about issues such as 'race', culture and ethnicity (Back 1991, Gilroy 1991, 1993a, Watson 1990). Based on cultural expressions to be found in popular youth cultures and other contemporary cultural forms, a number of writers have argued that we are now witnessing the emergence of 'new ethnicities' which challenge the boundaries of natural identity by asserting the possibility of being both black and English (Hall 1991, Mercer 1990). Ideas about 'race' and the meanings attached to it can enter particular social contexts in complex forms (Back 1991, Gilroy 1991) and this makes it impossible to conceptualise discourses about 'race' and identity as monolithic and unchangeable. The search for cultural, religious and racial/ethnic identities is taking on new and complex forms in the context of contemporary British society.

As has been argued by a number of academics writing in the early 1980's, what had characterised a large section of

mainstream research on 'race relations' had been a focus on the black community as the 'problem' rather than white racism (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980, Gilroy 1987, Lawrence 1982, Parmar 1981). Rather than offering explanations of the racial inequality in terms of the racist nature and structure of the social system, researchers directed their focus instead, by comparing the black community with the white middle-class 'norm' in terms of their 'deviant' family structures and 'ways of life' (Lawrence 1982, Troyna 1988). Racism was thus largely ignored or re-defined in such a way as to loose sight of the fundamental issue of power and consequently replaced by a liberal, equal opportunities paradigm that left unquestioned the existing social system and was intent, instead on simply 'integrating' black people more fully into it (Bourne and Sivanandan 1980, Gilroy 1987). Within this context, social research has aimed not only to fundamentally distort black people's experiences and reality, but to also gather and collate information in order to maintain and reinforce their subordination.

Goldberg (1990) argues racism was considered as it might largely still be, as an ahistorical unchanging social condition always presupposing claims about biological nature and inherent superiority or ability. Racism is now taken to be expressed increasingly in terms of isolationist national self-image, of cultural differentiation tied to custom, tradition and heritage and of exclusionary immigration policies, anti-immigrant practices and criminality. Appiah (1990) reconstructs the presuppositions underlying popular ways of thinking about 'race' and racism. Whereas Gilroy (1990a) insists that novel forms of racism require new analytic procedures. He argues, it is misleading to seek a general ahistorical or essentialist account of racism, or of 'race relations' and suggests that racisms are affects at various historical conjunctures of underlying economic and sociocultural determinations. To support these claims Gilroy (1990a) focuses on contemporary British articulations of racism in terms of culture rather than

biology.

Jackson and Penrose (1993) however, examine the different meanings given to 'race' and nation, which mean quite different things in different places which underlies the notion that both concepts are social constructions, the product of specific historical and geographical forces, rather than biologically given ideas whose meaning is dictated by nature.

Much of the current debate about 'race' and racism has been couched in terms of the theory of 'racialisation' first advanced by Miles (1982) in relation to post war labour migration to Britain and subsequently employed by many others (Anderson 1991, Jackson 1987, Solomos 1989, 1993, Solomos and Back 1995b). Rather than accepting the idea of 'race' as a biological given, the theory requires us to examine the conditions under which specific processes of 'racialisation' have taken place.

Hall (1992) in 'New ethnicities' identifies what he calls the end of the innocent notion of the essential black subject:

> what is at issue here is the recognition of the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences and cultural identities which compose the category 'black' that is, the recognition that 'black'is essentially a politically and culturally constructed category which...has no guarantees in nature (1992:254).

In Hall's usage, the idea implies a commitment to an increasingly complex politics of position and a recognition that black subjects cannot be represented without reference to other dimensions of class, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity.

Concepts such as 'ethnic group' and 'ethnic identity' have also achieved academic and political prominence in the 1980's (Khan 1979, Wallman 1979). Belonging to an ethnic group (or ethnicity) has been proposed as a major new social phenomena,

occupying a place alongside class and nation. Different writers have identified ethnic groups as being based on, cultural difference (Lyon 1972, 1973), group interests (Glazer and Moynihan 1975) and personal identity (Barth 1969).

Miles (1982) argues the attempt to differentiate ethnic groups from other groups gives rise to a number of logical contradictions with the result that the concept cannot usefully be used for descriptive or analytical purposes. These definitions abstract either the focus of cultural difference or the process of the maintenance of social/affective difference from its historical and material context, thus ethnic groups are defined without reference to, or in opposition to, the class structure of the social formation in which the identified persons live. The attempt to advance some of these definitions has been partly motivated by an awareness of the analytical limitations of the sociology of 'race relations'. The identity of these limitations is significant, but the implications have not been fully understood and developed with the result that 'ethnic relations' studies tend either to replicate (or stand for) 'race relations' studies or lead to a simplistic cataloguing of cultural difference. The language of ethnic group and ethnic relations suggests the existence of an area of inquiry which is distinct from 'race relations' research. However, many of those who contribute to these areas do so in such a way as to suggest some overlap or even identity between the two. Thus we have both Banton (1987) and Gordon (1985) proposing a theory of 'racial and ethnic relations'. Whereas, Lyon (1972) suggests a distinction between an ethnic group and what he calls a 'racial category'.

At one level, ethnicity and ethnic imagery are represented simply as synonymous with, or appropriate euphemisms for 'race'. The significance of ethnicity lies in its salience for group consciousness and collective action. But, if it is not simply a surrogate for 'race', what is it? A comprehensive definition from Bulmer (1986) includes common ancestry,

memories of a shared past and aspects of group identity based on:

> ...kinship, religion, language, shared territory, nationality or physical appearance (1986:54).

The advantage of such a conceptualisation is that is encompasses most of the issues around which human societies have organised and struggled for centuries.

Ballard (1992) has argued, that there should be a much greater emphasis on ethnic differentiation and the positive achievements of some individuals in the face of widespread discrimination. However, there is often an imperceptibly thin line between racism and ethnicism. Some writers (Jinadu 1994, Kaul 1994) have argued, we cannot understand the meaning of ethnicity unless we examine its relation to colonial racism and post-colonial ideas about state polices. Whereas Oommen (1994) introduces the concept of 'ethnie' which refers to people who share a common culture and life-style, but do not occupy their ancestral territory. Hall (1991) has argued the term 'ethnicity' acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity.

However, Rex (1970) argues the sociology of 'race relations' must begin with an analysis of colonialism because it was in colonial situations that forms of unfree labour (slavery, migrant labour) predominated. Rex (1973) suggests that a central issue warranting attention is a:

> ...fundamental structural and dynamic analysis of British imperial society, including both free labour in the metropolis and 'fettered labour' in the colonies (1973:176).

Rex argues, that the colonial immigrant will be allocated a place beneath the bottom of the stratification system and allocated roles in the backward sectors of the productive

system and confined to certain disadvantaged sectors of the housing market. Elsewhere, Rex conceptualises this closure of the stratification system as resulting in the formation of an 'underclass' (1973:215).

Miles (1982) argues, the economic relationship between British capitalism and colonialism does have an ideological legacy which has to be taken into account when examining the generation and reproduction of racism in contemporary Britain. The idea of 'race' was materially grounded in the production relations of British capitalism and 'demonstrated' simultaneously the inferiority of the colonial subjects and the superiority of the British 'race' by reference to colonial exploitation.

Sections of the British ruling class commonly justified colonialism as an attempt to 'civilise inferior races' and sought special methods of administration and economic compulsion to achieve this (Lugard 1929). Castles and Kosack (1973) demonstrated the parallels between the determinants of consequences of migration to Britain and of migration to other nation states in North West Europe. They examined the relationship between capital accumulation, migration and class formation and the idea of 'race' as a classificatory concept without exploration or definition. This political economy of migration paradigm has been embraced by Sivanandan (1982, 1990) who also criticised academic 'race relations' analysis and sought an alternative perspective on the British situation.

Ross (1982) argues, the development of racist ideologies derived from the experience of Europeans in colonising and exploiting the overseas world. Racism is often seen as a rationalisation of, a justification for, and thus a product of colonialism. In time, colonial societies became so pervaded with and organised around racist and related ideas, (such as those which defined Africans into 'tribes' and Indians into 'castes'), that these ideas came to be internalised by the

colonised themselves. Furthermore, the new ethnicities and new racialisms became a threat to the colonial order, or indeed could be used by the British Indian authorities only in those situations where they were indeed linked to the class conflict within Indian society (Washbrook 1982).

More recently, Gilroy (1993a, 1993b) has argued, that racial slavery was integral to western civilisation, that the literary and philosophical modernisms of the 'Black Atlantic' have their origins in a well-developed sense of the complexity of racialised reason and white supremacist terror. He argues for a critical discussion of Africentrism. Being European and black requires a specific form of double consciousness. The colours black and white support a special rhetoric that has grown to be associated with a language of nationality and national belonging as well as the languages of 'race' and ethnic identity. These ideas about nationality, ethnicity, authenticity and cultural integrity are characteristically modern phenomena that have profound implications for cultural criticism and cultural history. Here, Gilroy explores the relationship between 'race', culture, nationality and ethnicity which have a bearing on the histories and political cultures of Britain's black citizens.

There have been many different analyses and writings on the concept of 'race' and ethnicity during the past two decades. Such writings have attempted to provide a comprehensive understanding of these concepts. This section has outlined and evaluated such writings. Although such writings have provided a sophisticated understanding of 'race' and ethnicity, they have failed to examine the influence of gender relations in terms of 'race'. How does 'race' affect gender relations? To what extent does gender influence the lives of non-white women? What does it mean to be non-white and a woman? How do South Asian women's lives differ to those of white women? There is a need to examine the dynamics of gender, 'race' and ethnicity with specific reference to South Asian women who have been

neglected in the analysis. Does racial identity make a difference to women's experiences within households or the labour market and education? How does 'race' affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to examine the influence of difference and diversity and how 'race' may affect South Asian women and their positions within households.

GENDER, 'RACE' AND ETHNICITY

This section will examine the relationship between gender and ethnicity and how early feminist writings tended to emphasise the experiences of white, middle class women as being universal to all women in society. To what extent does ethnicity affect women's experiences and how can these experiences be understood in terms of difference and diversity? How is the position of non-white women in society different to that of white women? How have these differences been explained and what do they tell us?

Early feminist theory tended to emphasise the commonalities of women's oppression. In order to establish that male domination was systematic and affected all areas of women's lives, feminists offered analyses of women's subordination, exploitation and objectification at all levels of society. This emphasis on commonality however, often resulted in the neglect of differences between women. Differences based on 'race' and ethnic identity, nationality, class and sexuality have become increasingly important within feminist work, leading both to the documentation of experiences (Lorde 1984) and challenges to theories and concepts within feminism based on limited models of the category 'woman' (Amos and Parmar 1984, Bryan et al 1985, Carby 1982, hooks 1982, Joseph and Lewis 1981, Ngcobo 1988, Parmar 1982, Ramazanoglu 1989, Spellman 1990). These changes within feminist theory have been influenced by changes within the women's movement more generally, where differences between women have gradually come to be seen as one of the strengths of the feminist movement, in terms of a diversity of

both national and international politics (Cole 1986). These differences between women, have also called into question the collective 'we' of feminism, who is the 'we' and who does it refer to (hooks 1984, Ramazanoglu 1989)?

In feminism, what has been relevant is questioning the very concept of 'woman' (Amos and Parmar 1984, Brah 1992, Bryan et al 1985, Carby 1982, hooks 1982, Joseph and Lewis 1981, Knowles and Mercer 1992, Tang Nain 1991). Once it is recognised that women are possessors of multiple subjectivities based on 'race', class, age sexual orientation and religion, different affiliations may come into prominence in different circumstances, perhaps according to political priorities (Alcoff 1988). Feminism has been challenged for being preoccupied with privileged western white women's concerns (Jayawandera 1986). One strand of this critique argues for the need to understand imperialism and to inject an international perspective into western feminism (Amos and Parmar 1984). Some writers suggest, rather than reject feminism simply as a white ideology, black women should re-define and re-claim the term (Bryan et al 1985, Davis 1990, King 1988).

Furthermore, the project of women's liberation has been challenged by the notions of imperialism and racism. In combination with class, racism and imperialism feminists have questioned the differences between women. Slavery, conquest and colonialism created dominant and subject peoples within global structures of material exploitation and political subordination. Women on different sides of these global processes have significantly different interests (Bhavnani and Coulson 1986, Bulbeck 1988, Lorde 1984, Moraga and Anzaldua 1981). The political context within which the British racism-feminism debate has taken place continues to be one in which racism and imperialism figures strongly. However, black critiques of feminism have been beneficial (Amos and Parmar 1984, Brah 1992, Carby 1982, hooks 1982, 1984, Joseph 1981, Lorde 1981, Moraga and Anzaldua 1981, Spellman 1990). Feminism

itself has provided fertile ground for analysis of politics of the 'other' in history and black women have injected a much needed theoretical and political dynamism into feminism.

Much of the black women's critique has highlighted the suppression within feminism of black and white difference. This can happen in one of two ways. The first is the denial of difference which is implicit in the assumption that all women have certain interests in common. The second is through its representation as black 'deviance'. Black women have been marginalised in feminist discourses, when they are depicted it is as the exception. This problematises the ways in which black women differ from white feminism's standard of 'woman', rather than the general applicability of this standard. In their argument, black women have demanded that feminism should abandon the notion that all women automatically have common interests (and that men and women have opposing interests). The underlying logic is that common interests between women, only emerge as a consequence of common appropriation of historical experiences of oppression, subordination and exploitation through the essentially political practices of solidarity, alliance and resistance. In other words, feminism has been challenged to place itself in history and to locate itself in relation to other forms of resistance such as black, third world liberation and class struggles. Many of the issues raised by black women, (about who sets the political agenda, marginalisation and 'otherness'), are familiar to white feminists from their own history of resistance. What has not been so easy to come to terms with, is the need to acknowledge the uncomfortable dual position of oppressor and oppressed. Furthermore, the tendency to homogenise the oppression of black people comes from an understandable desire to find common ground and to resist the power of racism to divide black people from one another. It remains the case that perhaps more than half the people who may be labelled 'black' do not identify themselves as such (Brah 1992, Hazareesingh 1986, Modood 1994, Westwood and Bhachu 1988). If we try to emphasise black and

white difference, there is also the tendency to deny the complexity of both black and white experience. This may be unavoidable, but unless it is explicitly acknowledged a racial essentialism may emerge from fixed and oppositional identities.

Many writers have examined the neglect of black women and their experiences (Amos and Parmar 1984, Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Barrett and Macintosh 1985, Brah 1992, Brittan and Maynard 1984, Carby 1982, Davis 1981, hooks 1982, 1984, 1991, Joseph 1981, Knowles and Mercer 1991, 1992, Lorde 1981, Moraga and Anzaldua 1981, Parmar 1982, Tang Nain 1991). The growing body of writing by feminists has explored the ways in which both traditional and feminist theorising and research has either rendered black people invisible or visible only as stereotypes and deviants. Phoenix (1987) has termed this the 'normalised absence/pathologised presence couplet'. Black women (Carby 1982, hooks 1982, Joseph and Lewis 1981, Spellman 1990) have challenged many of the central preoccupations and conceptualisations of feminism. For example, Phoenix (1987) examines theories of gendered identities and finds them lacking with regard to their non-consideration of the different developmental experiences of black and white children. Lewis (1983) finds that the public/private spheres division does not apply to black men and women because of the relationship between blacks and whites in society.

Phoenix (1987) and Carby (1982) argue, that what is needed is not just an 'adding on' of black women to feminist theorising, but a fundamental reconception of these theories as:

> ...the way the gender of black women is constructed differs from the construction of white femininity because it is also subject to racism (Carby 1982:214).

What white feminists have been producing it is argued, are generalisations based only upon white middle class women's experiences, generalisations that do not take account of, or

account for, the experiences of working class or black women.

White feminists (Barrett and Macintosh 1985) have begun to take note of the criticisms of their work made by black feminists (Carby 1982, hooks 1982). Phillips (1987) for example, has noted how her work on the way part-time jobs have defined the experience of women in Britain assumes that this is the experience of women as a whole because black women are much more likely to work part-time. She accepts that 'race' and class differences cut across sex similarity to produce different kinds of inequalities. In a more personal way, Barrett and Macintosh (1985) confess that:

> privileged white feminists such as ourselves have been too absorbed in playing our own role of oppressed womanhood, too committed to our existing positions, too insistent perhaps that we should only speak from our own experience (1985:23).

Generally, there has been a recognition of social divisions between women and an acceptance that the effects of these divisions are real. Differences among women need to be explored as seriously as we have treated differences between women and men.[3] In this sense, Lawrence (1982:133) remarks upon the tendency of white sociologists to obscure the question of their relationship to the black people they study, a relationship that is structured by racism. Whereas others (Phoenix 1987, 1990, Tizard and Phoenix 1993) have argued, research itself continues to construct white people as the norm and black people as abnormal by comparison. Furthermore, Amos and Parmar (1981) have argued that if we are examining racism and 'race relations', it is not to the black community that our attention should be directed, but to:

> ...the structures and institutions which function in that racist manner (1981:129).

[3] Issues of 'difference' are explored in the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 3 - Methodology).

Braidotti (1992) argues unless feminists are clear about the national frameworks and cultural differences within which they work, they run the paradoxical risk of becoming implicitly ethnocentric. Indeed, is the term 'feminist' sufficiently receptive to differences, in order to represent the political will that unites many women (Mama 1984).

More recently, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) have attempted to provide a theoretical account of the category 'race', ways of conceptualising racism and nationalism, issues of 'race' and class, 'race' and gender and the role of the category 'Black' within racialisation processes. They examine the relationship between ethnicity and gender as they interplay with each other, both in terms of their conceptual similarities and differences and in terms of the ways in which they intermesh in concrete social relations. They consider the specific position of ethnic minority and racialised women in contemporary Britain and show how class, sex and 'race' interact, particularly in the areas of state action around nationality and employment. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) argue racism or racial categorisation involves discourses relating to subordination as well as exclusion. However, gender relations differ according to ethnicity, gender divisions of the dominant ethnic group will also affect ethnic minority women.

This section has examined white feminist claims for its concerns and priorities with white, middle class women which conceals the variety and diversity of human experience and subjectivity. The study of gender can no longer be assumed to be based on the experiences of white, middle class women, but must examine the influence of colour, culture and 'race' and the implications this has for women and their individual experiences. We can no longer assume the term 'woman' is a unitary category, but need to investigate difference and diversity in women's lives to understand women's experiences. How are South Asian women's lives different to those of white

women? What influence does colour, culture and 'race' have upon their position within households? To what extent is patriarchy experienced differently for South Asian women in comparison to how patriarchy is experienced by white, western women? Such questions will enable us to examine the diversity of experience in women's lives.

PATRIARCHY

This section will examine patriarchal explanations of women's subordination. How has patriarchy as a concept been used to explain the position of women in society? To what extent is the concept of patriarchy a valid concept in explaining the position of all women in society? Is patriarchy ethnocentric? Do existing explanations of patriarchy explain the position of non-white (South Asian) women in society? Do we need new definitions and explanations of patriarchy which explain the position of non-white (South Asian) women in British society?

In contemporary feminism the concept of patriarchy has received considerable attention and has been analysed as a system which oppresses women. There have been problems with the definition of patriarchy (Barrett 1980) and differences as to the causes of patriarchy.

Radical feminists have argued, men's patriarchal power over women is the primary power relationship in human society. This power is not just confined to the public worlds of economic and political activity, but characterises all the relationships between the sexes.

Some socialist feminists agree with radical feminists insistence upon the ubiquity of male power, but seek to give patriarchal power a history and to understand its relationship with other forms of domination, they try to explore the ways in which class and sex oppression interact in capitalist society.

Radical feminists see the oppression of women as the most

fundamental and universal form of domination where patriarchy is a key term. They argue, that male power is everywhere in the public world of politics and paid employment and in the private world of the family and sexuality.

Millett (1977) argues, in all known societies the relationship between the sexes are based on power relationships and so therefore, are political relationships. Patriarchy also rests upon economic exploitation and the use or threat of force, for example foot binding, suttee and clitorectomy. However, radical feminists have been criticised for their theory of patriarchy on four points. The theory is said to be descriptive rather than analytical, unable to explain the origins of male power and therefore unable to provide an adequate strategy for ending it. The theory is based on a false idea of 'man as the enemy', and is said to be ahistorical and 'falsely universalistic'. It reflects only the experiences of white, middle class women and obscures the very different problems faced by black, working class and third world women. It sees women only in terms of being passive victims rather than co-makers of history and agents of change. Walby (1990) has claimed these criticisms are merely contingent.

Radical feminists see patriarchy as autonomous or itself the cause of other forms of oppression, whereas Marxist feminists see the origins of patriarchy as inextricably bound up with class society. Either way, it is agreed patriarchy is not a mere derivative of economic power or class society and cannot be reduced to other forms of domination. It must be understood in its own terms.

Different writers, (Delphy 1980; domestic labour, Dworkin 1981; violence, Firestone 1974; sexuality), give different reasons for the origins and causes of patriarchy. For some radical feminists (Firestone 1974) the original shift to patriarchy was simply a consequence of men's greater strength stemming from women's weakness during pregnancy, childbirth and lactation.

For others, it is men's ability to rape that enables them to dominate women (Brownmiller 1976). Some say it was the discovery of the male role in reproduction that first led men to seek control over women (Rich 1977). Yet others, see the development of patriarchy as rooted in the early development of hunting by men, which gave them both a new source of power and led to a development of a value system based on violent conquest (Collard 1988). However, Spender (1985) argues, identifying origins of patriarchy is not important, but rather to identify the structures and institutions that maintain patriarchy, in order that these may be overthrown.
An important aspect of patriarchy theory however, is that it enables us to distinguish between the different structures of male domination on the one hand and individual men on the other (Walby 1990).

Another problem with patriarchy is that in insisting on women's universal and shared oppression, it does not examine the changes that have taken place throughout history, the differences between one society and another and the importance of class and 'race' (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Collins 1990, King 1988, Ramazanoglu 1986, Spellman 1990). Women do have experiences in common involving sexual exploitation, but these experiences are qualitatively different due to class, 'race', age, sexuality, religion and language. Concepts such as patriarchy can conceal divisions in society in much the same way as male perspectives have concealed the oppression of women (Collins 1990, Ramazanoglu 1986). The term 'patriarchy' itself has been criticised by black feminists (Carby 1982, Spellman 1990). Black feminists (Amos and Parmar 1984, Carby 1982) suggest that because of racism, black men do not benefit from patriarchal social structures in the same way as white men and that benefit from patriarchy does not distinguish black men from black women. Joseph (1981) states, the term patriarchy can only be applicable to white male dominance, since:

> ...all white women have ultimate power over black men on account of the racist nature of the executive, legislative and judicial systems (1981:100).

Indeed, part of the problem lies in confusing different levels of analysis in terms of patriarchy (Chhachhi 1986). Westwood and Bhachu (1988) have pointed out, patriarchal relations are neither monolithic or static, but contexted by cultural elements within which they interact, including the means available to minority women to contest and negotiate patriarchal relations. This has encouraged white feminists (Barrett and Macintosh 1985) to be more cautious of their use of the term patriarchy as indicative of the female condition and a commonality among women. However, other feminists (Mies 1986, Walby 1990) argue, patriarchy ultimately unites all women in a common sisterhood as undifferentially oppressed subjects.

Some writers (Dahlerup 1987, Walby 1990) have attempted to produce a more sophisticated theory of patriarchy which argues, far from being unchanging, patriarchal domination takes a number of different forms which are the product of particular historical situations. Walby (1990) has argued that in western societies, there has been a general shift away from private patriarchy based on individual control within the household to a more public form of patriarchy based on structures outside the household. Walby states, this is based on a:

> ...continuum rather than a rigid dichotomy (1990:180).

She states, different groups have been affected in different ways. Domination by men is not only experienced in the public worlds of politics and employment, but also in the family and personal relationships. A satisfactory understanding of patriarchy cannot be reduced to examination of any one structure, but must explore their interrelationships.

Walby (1990) mentions religion as a cultural influence of

patriarchy but does not provide a detailed account of this. What influence does religion and culture have on the extent of patriarchy, households and how it may shape forms of patriarchy? Furthermore, how do 'race' and ethnicity affect forms of patriarchy experienced by women? Does 'race' make a difference to forms of patriarchy experienced by women? Does culture make a difference to this? Racial divisions in theories of patriarchy are relegated to secondary importance as the notion of 'race' and ethnicity have been 'added on' to some existing theories of patriarchy. This is highly problematic and in order to examine the situation for South Asian women, we may ask, what are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women and how are these different to those experienced by white women? Do South Asian women experience different forms of patriarchy from the private and public forms identified by Walby (1990)? Do existing theories of patriarchy also apply to South Asian communities in Britain?

I would argue patriarchy is a concept which can be used to explain different women's position within society. However, different ethnic groups may experience different forms of patriarchy and there is a need to ask, what are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? To what extent is the family oppressive for South Asian women and why? How can we explain patriarchy for different women, in terms of commonality and difference? New theories and analyses of patriarchy are necessary in order to incorporate difference and diversity to examine South Asian women's position within households and what patriarchy means for them.

PATRIARCHY AND THE FAMILY

How have explanations of the family and patriarchy enabled us to understand the dynamics of family relations and women's position within it? Is the family considered oppressive for women? Do women in different societies experience the family in different ways or is the family considered universal for women? This section will examine existing explanations of patriarchy

and the family and discuss its relevance.

Definitions of the family are problematic (Barrett 1980). The term family is used in contemporary western society to refer to either a group of people who live together and have some degree of shared housekeeping, (which is strictly speaking a household), or to those who are seen as being related by marriage or descent from common ancestors. The family most commonly however, and as a social ideal refers to a combination of the two meanings, to a group which lives together and is related by marriage and close kinship and specifically a domestic group made up of a man and his wife and their children. Some theorists (Delphy and Leonard 1992) refer to domestic groups as households. However, domestic groups are not necessarily composed of people related to each other by kinship and marriage. Also, some adults may live alone or with friends or in homosexual couples. This indicates not all members of a family may share a common household and not all members of a household are members of the same family. Other writers have reinterpreted the notion of the family as a discourse and attempted to explore the various meanings of the term in western society (Bernades 1986, Gubrium 1988). Whilst others (Chester 1986, Segal 1983) have used the distinction between household and family as a means to downplay the significance of family relationships, (and their gender and generational hierarchies), in structuring people's lives in contemporary western societies.

Millett (1977) argues the family is a central part of society's power structure, it both sustains patriarchal power in the public world and is itself a source of women's oppression.

Radical feminists (Delphy 1980) argue, men benefit from domestic comfort more than women and their refusal to change and participate in domestic labour demonstrates the power men have over women. Delphy (1980) argues, marriage is a labour contract through which men exploit women's labour and because

most women perform this unpaid labour, the position of all women in the employment market is depressed and marriage continues to appear to be their only viable option.

However, Delphy (1980) has been accused of not attempting to explore changes in marriage over time and between classes and whether it is at the level of domestic exploitation rather than paid work or ideology that women should be struggling against (Barrett and Macintosh 1985). Is it possible to universalise from a particular historical moment and say domestic labour is the sole or even the prime source of women's oppression? Exploitation of women's labour in the home is connected to other aspects of economic and social life, it is not an unchanging source of oppression. Even though household tasks are not shared equally, some slight increased involvement in the home by men may mean it is less important than it was thought.

For other radical feminists, it is sexual rather than domestic exploitation that is seen to be important (Firestone 1974). Increased awareness of domestic violence and the sexual abuse of both women and children within the home, mean that for many feminists (Firestone 1974) the family is seen as the cutting edge of patriarchal oppression. The connection between individual acts of violence and wider patriarchal power is underlined by the reluctance of authorities to interfere in 'private' domestic affairs (Hanmer and Saunders 1984) and that in some places marital rape is still not considered a crime (Russell 1984).

Firestone (1974) argues, reproduction is the basis of women's subordination by men, it is their role as producers that has disadvantaged women and so men have been able to dominate them. It is women's role as childbearer and childrearer (their biological role) that disadvantages women, rather than the economic structures, that forms the material basis for the most fundamental division in society between men and women.

However, Firestone has been criticised for being reductionist and biologist, which is also universalistic and ahistoric (Barrett 1980). She does not look at change or offer any suggestions as to how the change should take place to free women from reproduction. O'Brien (1981) states, Firestone's whole theoretical framework is confused and simplistic. The issues of reproduction must be related to other areas of patriarchal control and the struggle over reproductive rights must be fought in this context, rather than isolated as a simple cause of oppression.

Dinnerstein (1987) argues, it is women's participation in childcare which is the root of women's subordination. Whereas Chodorow (1978) states it is women's role in mothering which is the basis of their exploitation. Rich (1977) however, states it is not the biological fact of giving birth, but the fact that women reproduce in a patriarchal society. However, many of these ideas have been criticised for a biological determinism which contradicts current scientific thinking. As Bacchi (1990) has argued, insistence on, or denial of significant sexual difference may also be based on a false dichotomy that distracts our attention from the need to challenge the dominant values of women and men.

Radical feminists have been criticised for having a reductionist, biologistic, universalistic and ahsitoric analysis (Barrett 1980) as well as being essentialist (Segal 1987). However, radical feminists analysis of the household does examine the relationship of power and inequality between the sexes. It does not however, examine the relationship between issues of gender and 'race' in the family.

Some black feminists (Carby 1982, hooks 1984, Spellman 1990) have argued, both that there are significant differences in family forms between ethnic groups and that the family is less a source of oppression for black women than it is for white women. Hence, previous feminist theory has made a serious error

in attempting to develop a general theory of women's oppression on the basis of white women's experiences alone. However, forms of households in contemporary Britain vary between different ethnic groups, not only between white and black but between the ethnic groups themselves. For example, forms of households for South Asian women may be different to forms of households for Afro-Caribbean women. The family itself may have a different place for these two groups. In order to examine the oppression and subordination faced by women in society, it is important to analyse this difference and its contribution to explanations of patriarchal theory. For example, to what extent does racial identity affect women's position in the family? What difference does culture make to definitions of the family and women's position within it? Are radical feminist explanations of the family universal? How do South Asian women identify with the family organisation? Is the family oppressive for South Asian women? How is patriarchy in the family experienced by South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to examine the impact of 'race', colour and culture and whether the family is patriarchal for South Asian women.

DOMESTIC LABOUR

One of the ways in which the subordination of women has been explained has been to examine the position of women within the household and family and the extent to which it is women who perform most, if not all aspects of domestic labour. This section will examine domestic labour as an attempt to explain women's subordination and how women's position is affected by domestic labour.

In the literature on housework there is a consensus as to its essential economic characteristics: it is work, it is unpaid and it is carried out mainly by women. However, there are many differences in studying domestic labour. Some studies have focused on the usefulness of housework for capitalism (Barrett 1980, Galbriath 1974, Gardiner 1976, Hartmann 1979, Malos 1980, Sargent 1981), which resulted in the 'domestic labour debate'

(Dalla Costa 1973, Fox 1980, James 1980, Molyneux 1979, Seecombe 1974). There has also been a debate as to whether housework is 'productive' and whether or not it is unpaid is because of the specific nature of the work (Adamson 1976, Benston 1969, Gardiner 1975). There have been various attempts to assess the monetary value of housework, to the family or society (Clark 1958, Glazer-Malbin 1976, Walker and Gauger 1973). Some authors have stressed the aspect of 'work' in the sense of 'tasks', looking at changes in the nature and the component parts of housework and the history of domestic technology (Bose 1979, Cowan 1983, Davidson 1982, Hartmann 1974, Oakley 1974, Pahl 1984, Young and Willmott 1973). Others have looked at time-budget studies (Gershuny et al 1986, Meissner et al 1975), how the time spent on housework and the type of commercial products used as substitutes vary with whether or not wives have had paid employment (Morris 1990), also at changes over the life course (Berk 1980, Lopata 1971, Pleck 1977, Robinson 1977). Yet others have looked primarily at how the work is experienced by those who do it, what 'being a housewife' means to women's self-identity, what satisfactions and frustrations are to be found in domestic labour (Allan 1985, Gavron 1966, Lopata 1971, Matthews 1987, Oakley 1974, Porter 1978, Rogers 1980) and studies which include the issue of responsibility for household tasks (Brannen and Moss 1990, Hochschild 1989, Morris 1985). Some writers have looked at the ideologies of men's and women's separate spheres, examining the changing representations of the private sphere of the home and the public sphere outside the home (Davidoff 1976, Davidoff and Hall 1987, Hall 1979, Laslett 1973). Whilst others have stressed the changing marital roles in the marriage relationship (Berk 1985, Blood and Wolfe 1960, Bott 1975, Edgell 1980, Geerken and Gove 1983, Gershuny 1983, Gershuny et al 1986, Harris 1983, Pahl 1984, Rapoport and Rapoport 1971, 1976). Economists have looked at time-allocation in terms of domestic labour (Becker 1965, Bowen and Finegan 1969, Cain 1966, Leibowitz 1975, Mincer 1962).

Some writers (Allan and Crow 1989, Andre 1981, Berk and Shih 1980, Coltrane 1989, Daniels 1987, Henwood 1987, Vanek 1980, Warde and Hetherington 1993) indicate it is women who perform the domestic labour and hence the role of the homemaker has become a low-status job which is bound up with sex roles which are considered to be appropriate for women. This is further demonstrated in feeding and caring for the family, where the relations of power which characterise the family are reproduced through the provision and consumption of the meal (Charles and Kerr 1988, Devault 1991). Yet other writers have looked at 'emotional labour' in the household (Abel and Newson 1990, Barry 1993, Duncombe and Marsden 1993, Giddens 1992, Hochschild 1983, Jackson 1989, James 1989, Ungerson 1987), childcare and parenting (Ehrensaft 1972, Rothman 1989, Thompson and Walker 1989) and family relationships (Finch and Mason 1993).

The definition of housework is problematic and is taken as what scholars define it to be. Some writers (Warde and Hetherington 1993, Williams 1988) have argued there are many problems involved in adopting a framework for analysing the various ways about thinking of domestic labour. The terms 'housework' and 'domestic labour' are used interchangeably. Different writers have included various different tasks under the heading of housework or domestic labour (Eichler 1981, Gillespie 1972, Glazer-Malbin 1976, Michel 1978).

In the same vein, Bose (1979) states little is known about the housework role and the occupational privilege attributed to it. Whereas, Jackson (1992) argues it is important to examine the concept of domestic labour under capitalism and patriarchy. More recent research (West and Pilgrim 1995) has examined the pressures of domestic labour in terms of struggle and isolation for South Asian women. Many South Asian women in the study were likely to show signs of depression (Fenton and Sadiq 1993) and be living in poor housing conditions (Pilgrim et al 1993).

However, many of the studies on domestic labour have tended to

be ethnocentric and falsely universalistic and have underestimated the significance of ethnic diversity. The research on households has rarely examined South Asian households and women's position within it, (see the section on the South Asian family and South Asian households for a detailed analysis of this: Anwar 1979, Bhachu 1985, Shaw 1988, Warrier 1988, Werbner 1988, Westwood 1988). To what extent can the subordination of South Asian women's position within households be explained in terms of their participation in domestic labour? Does ethnicity make a difference to who performs domestic labour? How does this affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? What is the interrelationship between the household and other patriarchal structures for South Asian women? Are domestic labour tasks sharply divided by gender in South Asian households? How can women, (and men's), participation in domestic labour be used as an indication of patriarchal oppression in South Asian households? Such questions will help us to examine South Asian women's experience of domestic labour within households and how it may be related to different forms of patriarchy they experience.

DOMESTIC FINANCE

This section will examine how relations inside the household such as domestic finance affect women's position within it. How is domestic finance organised? Who has control over how money is spent? How can this help to explain women's position within the household?

Research on finance has examined the extent to which finance acts as a powerful determinant of who has power and how it is distributed in the household (Blood and Wolfe 1960, Blumberg 1991, Brannen and Wilson 1987, Pahl 1983, 1990, Wilson 1987). Other writers have examined the effects of full-time employment and childbirth on household income (Brannen and Moss 1990). Whilst others have examined earning power and authority relations (Gray 1979, Hertz 1986, Pahl 1983, 1990). Pahl (1983)

has argued more generally, citing a number of writers (Bahr 1979, Blood and Wolfe 1960, Kandel and Lesser 1972, Lupri 1969, Michel 1968) that women's independent income increases their power.

Other writers have approached the study of household finance by the identity of distinctive patterns or procedures, which can be used to classify households which differ in their implications for power over income, benefit from spending and motivation for earning (Morris 1984, Pahl 1983, 1990).

Four basic classification of finance types have emerged from the study of finance (Morris 1990).

1. The whole-wage system: One partner is responsible for managing all household income and responsible for all expenditures (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, Gray 1979, Luxton 1980, Macintosh 1981, Morris 1984, Pahl 1980, Stamp 1985). This association between women and the domestic sphere has led to a particular pattern of finance management in the case of low-income households. The man handing over his full wage to the woman, occurs both where income is low, position in the labour market weak and in areas of traditional working class culture (Dennis et al 1956, Kerr 1958, Land 1976, Luxton 1980).
2. The allowance system: The main earner hands over a set amount for housekeeping and uses the remainder for his/her own designated areas of expenditure (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, Gray 1979, Land 1980, Luxton 1980, Morris 1984, Pahl 1983, 1990). Rubin (1976) notes an arrangement in which the earner hands over two allowances, one for household expenditures and the other for personal spending. This system is also adopted in traditional working class communities, but at higher income levels than are found with the whole wage system (Dennis et al 1956, Pahl 1983, 1990). Evidence from the US notes an increase in involvement by men in financial management as income rises (Blood and Wolfe 1960, Rubin 1976). In this system, the woman may not see the unopened wage packet and may not even know how much her husband earns (Cragg and Dawson 1984, Gray 1979, Marsh

1979, Young 1952). On the one hand, the allowance system limits the wife's access to her husband's earned income whilst seeking and protecting his retention from the wage, but on the other hand the shift to an allowance system as income rises facilitates male assumption of responsibility for some aspects of collective expenditure.

3. The joint management system: Both partners have access to all household income and are jointly responsible for management of, and expenditure from a common pool (Gray 1979, Luxton 1980, Morris 1984, Ostrander 1984, Pahl 1983, 1990, Stamp 1985). There is no privileged position of power and no designation of individual responsibilities, it is a model based on equal access and joint responsibility. So it depends on a high level of trust and agreement about priorities for spending. Pahl (1983) argues that pooling systems are characteristics of a relatively high income. Land (1980) found 'jointness' increasing as income rose, whilst Morris (1984) found joint management to be associated with higher disposable income and higher occupational grades. This is more likely to be found in younger couples who have a joint sharing system (Luxton 1980, Pahl 1983, 1990). Most evidence does seem to support the suggestion that pooling and higher income are in some way associated and the most obvious reason for this is the 'unitary control' aspect of the whole wage system.

4. Independent management system: This system is characterised by the absence of access to all household income by either partner. Each has a separate income and specifically designated areas of responsibility for expenditure (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, Pahl 1983, 1990, Stamp 1985). The connection between separate accounting systems, independence and equal authority within marriage has been made by Hertz's (1986) study of professional dual earners.

The domestic financial system indicates the relationship between a women's earnings and her power. The argument that women's earnings increase their power in the household is not convincing in all cases, as some writers suggest that the

effect is simply to reduce demands on the man's wage, possibly freeing funds to be used at his discretion (Jephcott et al 1962, Morris 1984). In other cases, the woman's earnings clearly do enhance her status within the household and this seems most likely to be the case where there is a strong career attachment on the part of women, where finances are handled jointly and where women's wage covers clearly visible items of collective expenditure, for example mortgage repayments or payments of bills. However, the lower the woman's earnings, the more critical they are likely to be for household survival (Kenkel 1969, Land 1980).

There is little research on 'race' differences (Bruegel 1988). We cannot generalise about findings from studies that have concentrated on white families. Male involvement in household organisation and collective expenditure can vary by class, culture, 'race' and personal orientation. Hence, the need to examine if the same types of financial arrangements are found in non-white households. To what extent does control over domestic finance indicate power distribution and power relations within households for South Asian women? How can we explore domestic finance to examine the position of South Asian women within households? How does domestic financial organisation influence forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Although research on finance has increased our understanding of the relationship between domestic finance and control, it is still an important area to be explored. Examining the financial organisation of South Asian women will enable us to investigate the influence of 'race' and culture on domestic financial household control and distribution.

SOUTH ASIAN FAMILY

This section will examine the South Asian family in the UK and how previous research has attempted to discuss the South Asian family and its dynamics. What issues have previous studies examined? How have these studies helped us to examine South Asian women and their position within the family and society?

Migration has always been a popular feature of human society. People have migrated to seek opportunities, to improve their economic and cultural levels or to escape persecution. In the post-colonial period (1947 onwards), the size and scope of migration increased to unprecedented levels. The study of ethnic minorities and experiences of migration have been well documented (Anwar 1979, Ballard and Ballard 1977, Desai 1963, Simic 1973), as well as the characteristics of the South Asian family (Ballard 1994, Chandan 1986, Dahya 1974, Ghuman 1975, 1994, Holmes 1982, James 1976, Jeffrey 1976, Michaelson 1979, Parekh 1978, Robinson 1984, Shan 1985, Shaw 1988, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988, 1990, Tambs-Lyche 1980a, 1980b, Visram 1986, Walvin 1984). Economic migration from India and Pakistan to Britain is characterised by young men and subsequently their spouses and possibly children, leaving their home, friends and extended family in order to benefit from higher wages in another country (Anwar 1985, Ballard 1990, Jeffrey 1976).

The causes of immigration for people from one country to another are manifold, but some scholars (Anwar 1979, Watson 1977) have tended to explain them under the categories of 'pull and push factors'. The major 'pull' factor is improvement of the family's financial and social position. Another 'pull' factor is the active encouragement given by the receiving society to the citizens of other countries through the prospect of better jobs, housing and recreational facilities (Bhachu 1988, Green 1990, Khan 1979, Rose et al 1969). The major 'push' factors may include massive upheavals of population through persecution and famine.

Primary immigration to the UK virtually ceased with the passing of the 1971 Immigration Act. This act restricted the entry of dependents and allowed new entrants only to take up specific jobs for a limited period of time (Fryer 1984). Some research examined the spatial patterns of settlement of Punjabis (Ballard and Ballard 1977, Bath 1972, Bhachu 1988, Brooks and Singh 1978a, Helweg 1979, Kalra 1980) and Pakistanis (Khan

1979, Shaw 1988, Werbner 1979, 1988) and found the patterns recreated in the UK were very similar to those based on village and kinship networks back home. Others have investigated the 'myth of return' and what it means for immigrant families (Anwar 1979, Dahya 1973, Robinson 1981, Sharma 1971, Taylor 1976).

South Asian communities are composed of people of different religions, castes, regional and language groups with a variety of social and cultural characteristics. There are however, certain factors which characterise South Asians as a distinctive group from westerners. First there is the primacy of family over the individual, it is the family rather than the individual which is the basis of social structure (Buchigrani et al 1985, Ghuman 1994, Parekh 1986, Triandis 1991). To ensure the continuous, smooth running of a unit including several adults, a hierarchical and authoritarian structure often evolves (Pillai 1976). This in turn produces certain goals and emphasises in child rearing and family interaction patterns for both males and females (Olsen 1975, Robinson 1986). Family values for women become pronounced (Shan 1985). Important decisions are made by, and for the group and not by the individual (Brah 1978, McDermott and Anshan 1980, Suda 1978). Familialistic orientation centres around the fulfilment of role obligations and expectations towards kin members. Furthermore, it is women who are entrusted with the burden of carrying the family honour (Wilson 1978).

Secondly the custom of arranged marriages is very much part and parcel of the South Asian social structure. Marriages are supposed to be primarily for the union of families, to promote mutual financial and social interests (Shan 1985, Wilson 1978).

Thirdly, the majority of first generation immigrants were from a rural background (Dahya 1972). A significant number had only attended primary schools and were completely unaware of the language problems they were going to face in Britain. This is

also connected to the poorer positions faced by minorities in terms of housing, education and employment (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). Whatever their economic and social position, the first generation were, and are, firmly rooted in their religion and culture and are sure of their personal identities. Their 'belongingness' is not in doubt, they are Sikhs or Muslims, Indians or Pakistanis (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990).

However, the children of these immigrants are less sure of their personal and social identities (Ghuman 1994). They have been described as a 'half-way generation' (Taylor 1976), a generation suffering from a 'culture clash' (Khan 1979, Thompson 1974, Watson 1977) or youngsters who have the best or worst of two worlds (Ghuman 1991, 1994). Rex and Tomlinson (1979) have described the situation as 'from immigrants to ethnies'.

Much discussion has centred around the extent to which and the means by which newcomers into any society may, or should be incorporated into the host society (Gordon 1964, 1975, Goldlust and Richmond 1974, Hirschman 1982, Kovacs and Cropley 1975, Price 1982, Putnins 1976, Yinger 1985). Various terms are used to refer to this process: adaption, integration, acculturation and assimilation. They are describing a situation in which newcomers change their habits, ways of life, social groups and personal attitudes and identify in response to the patterns they encounter in the host society. The norms of behaviour of the indigenous population may appear to newcomers as being advantageous (Dahya 1974, Robinson 1986).

Discussions of adaption and assimilation of first generation newcomers frequently point to the significance of kinship ties with the sending community and make the assumption, either explicitly or implicity that these will be strongly functional in directing attitudes towards settling in the new community and will influence behaviour (Brooks and Singh 1978a, Dahya 1974, Robinson 1986). However, this has been questioned due to

the persistence of distinct ethnic identities (Drury 1991, Lyon 1972, Robinson 1984).

Many writers have examined the notion of conflict which exists for South Asians and their representation in society (Anwar 1981, Ballard 1978, Ballard and Ballard 1977, Bhachu 1985, Lawrence 1982, Parekh 1978). Anticipation of difference and friction between the first and subsequent generations of incoming minority groups rests on a rather simplistic model of the process by which different cultures integrate. The underlying assumption is of a monolithic one-way movement, this has been challenged by many authors over the last twenty years (Banton 1983a, Goldlust and Richmond 1974, Gordon 1964, 1975, Hirschman 1982, Kovacs and Cropley 1975, Price 1982, Putins 1976). The process of assimilation has been shown to be many-faceted (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1987), to take place at different times, and to different extents.

It is possible that variation between the generations in their experience and interpretation of the factors involved in assimilation may result in differences in the extent to which they pursue or reject it, particularly early on in the settlement of an immigrant group. This neither presupposes a particular or crucial amount of difference between the generations, nor is the occurrence of a difference necessarily to be expected in all areas of activity, nor in those particularly vital to the maintenance of the group's cultural identity (Banton 1983b).

By the mid-1970's two out of every five British South Asian children were born in this country (Fryer 1984). This percentage is now over 95% (Ghuman 1994). Studies which have examined the relationship between South Asian and western values, have found youngsters wishing to retain the core value of their home culture, namely language (Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990). As regards the cultural identity of the second generation, the situation is complex, they have been called

'British Asians' (Wade and Souter 1991) or just 'Asians' by the majority of indigenous whites (Ghuman 1994).

Some researchers (Bhachu 1988, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990) argue, young South Asians are synthesising British cultural values with traditional values and are developing new cultural patterns. Other research on the identity of South Asians has shown that many South Asian girls are successfully mixing the two traditions of British and South Asian culture and creating their own way of living which they find satisfying (Drury 1991, Ghuman 1994, Gibson 1988, Miles 1984, Shaikh and Kelly 1989).

Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have all originated in the same continent and share many experiences and expectations (Jha 1978, Wilson 1978), but they speak different languages and their religions which are profoundly important, give them differing systems of practices, beliefs and relationships. Many of these groups tend to be lumped together, which can often be ethnocentric and misleading (Robinson 1981).

Whilst there exists a body of literature on South Asian social relations which has demonstrated the degree of difference that exists between white and ethnic groups, these studies have not specifically examined relations for South Asian women within households. Furthermore, it has been assumed there is no degree of difference between the experiences of South Asian women. What do differences within South Asian communities tell us about the lives of women? What is the position of South Asian women within the family? What are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women in British society? How is patriarchy defined for South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to investigate whether colour, culture and 'race' may make a difference to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women and concentrate on a specific group of women who have previously been neglected in sociological understanding.

MARRIAGE

This section will examine marriage in western societies. How has women's position in marriage been analysed? To what extent is marriage seen as a patriarchal structure for western women? What do studies on marriage tell us about women's relationship to men and their relationship to patriarchy?

Much research which exists on the family and households has also tended to examine the characteristics of the marriage relationship, where marriage has been included as part of the family and households, (see the section on the Household for a review of this literature).

Early research on marriage identified the marriage relationship as being traditional, where marriages retained the old pattern of husband-wife relations (Bell and Newby 1976, Feldman 1967, Granbois and Willett 1970, Kinsey et al 1953, Komarovsky 1964, Lopata 1971, Rainwater 1959, Rayner 1971).

Early definitions of marriage defined marriage in terms of cohabitation rather than formally defined legal or religious status (Morgan 1985, Polack 1975, Samuels 1976). Other research indicated that marital status operated with notions of 'proper weddings' and being 'properly married' (Leonard Barker 1978, Leonard 1980).

Different researchers have investigated different aspects of the marriage relationship: the quality of marriage (Bahr 1983, Huber and Spitze 1980, Noller and Fitzpatrick 1989), power and decision making in the marital relationship (Blood and Hamblin 1958, Farkas 1975, Gillespie 1972, Heath 1976, Heer 1963), marital stability and happiness (Burgess and Walling 1953, Campbell et al 1976, Grin et al 1960, Hicks and Platt 1970, Lackley 1964, Lewis and Spanier 1979, Lively 1969, Olden and Bradburn 1968), life cycle effects on marital quality (Berger and Kellner 1964, Hillier and Philliber 1989, Rollins and Cannon 1974, Rollins and Feldman 1970, Spanier et al 1975),

changes in marital patterns (Scanzoni and Scanzoni 1981), identity at marriage (Rapoport and Rapoport 1971, 1976) and stress in the marital relationship (Gove et al 1983).

Some researchers have examined the relationship between marital stress and employment (Holstrom 1973, Kindsin 1974, Oppenheimer 1977, Richardson 1979, Simpson and England 1972, Stiehm 1976) and the woman's relationship to the occupational structure through her husband (Finch 1983, Gowler and Legge 1978, Greenfield 1966, Papanek 1983). Whereas other research has identified the separate realities which exist for men and women in marriage (Bernard 1982, Kantor and Lehr 1975, Saifilios-Rothschild 1969). Yet others (Geerken and Gove 1983, Pleck and Nichols 1977) have examined the work-family role system in marriage. Whereas, Ross (1991) has emphasised how marriage affects the sense of control for men and women.

Later research on marriage has identified marriage as a patriarchal institution (Barrett 1980, Brown 1981, Delphy 1980, Delphy and Leonard 1992, Eisenstein 1981, Hartmann 1979, Sargent 1981, Smart 1984, Walby 1990) and examined women's position within the marriage relationship (Ferguson 1989, Kinnard 1983, Perry 1986). Others have examined the exploitation of wives by husbands, by concentrating on reproduction (Firestone 1974), rape (Brownmiller 1976), forced heterosexuality (Rich 1980) and the 'sexual contract' (Pateman 1988).

Some researchers (Pleck 1977, Weitzman 1985) have examined the difficulties and problems faced by women when they leave marriages, whereas others (Wilson 1987) state the material benefit or disadvantage of women to marriage varies by stages in the life-cycle and husband's income. Walby (1990) suggests, when job opportunities are not available for women, due to patriarchal closure in the labour market, marriage remains the best material option for them.

Although there is much research which exists on the marriage relationship in Western society, this research has discussed the marriage relationship and what it means for women in terms of the family and household. Much of the research is dated and has only examined the concept of marriage from a white, ethnocentric viewpoint. How do marriages differ for women of different ethnic groups? To what extent do women of South Asian origin find the institution of marriage oppressive and patriarchal? Do colour, culture and 'race' make a difference to types of marriage for South Asian women? How does participation in marriage affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? If we examine the types of marriage experienced by South Asian women, this will enable us to examine the different forms of patriarchy they experience and whether marriage itself can be identified as a patriarchal structure for South Asian women.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES AND DOWRIES

This section will examine arranged marriages in South Asian communities both in India and in the UK. South Asian women participate in different forms of marriages compared to white women, what does the literature tell us about arranged marriages? To what extent do South Asian women participate in arranged marriages? How are arranged marriages related to dowries? Are practices of arranged marriages and dowries in India similar to those in the UK? This section will discuss previous literature that has examined these issues.

The phenomenon of the arranged marriage in India has received a great deal of attention (Ahmad 1976, Caplan 1985, Hershman 1981, Jyoti 1983, Kaplan 1979, Plunkett 1973, Trautman 1981). Early research on arranged marriages examined the relationship between age at marriage (Chekki 1968, Goodwin 1972, Gore 1968, Gupta 1972, Vatuk 1972), whilst other researchers demonstrated the endogamous and exogamous rules associated with caste, kinship and village (Berreman 1962, Dube 1958, Dumont 1959, Gould 1961, Karve 1965, Klass 1961, Madan 1965). The early

research (Fox 1975, Goode 1963, Kapadia 1966, Prabhu 1963, Ross 1961, Shah 1961) found no significant departure from the traditional methods of mate selection, in which the Indian family system was maintaining its basic character and adhering to traditional patterns of marriage.

However, later research (Goldstein 1972, Gupta 1972, Rao and Rao 1982, Vatuk 1972) demonstrated marriage patterns in India reflected changes in social customs, attitudes and values, occurring within the arranged marriage system. With the effects of modernisation, the young wanted more freedom and choice in the marriage process. Other researchers (Mehta 1970, Mitter 1990, Papanek 1990, Sharma 1981) have demonstrated the position of women in the conjugal realm and their value in the wider society, the purity of women at marriage (Yalman 1963) and status differences between parents of the bride and groom (Trautmann 1981, Vatuk 1972). The arranged marriage in India has been shown to reveal the following characteristics: it helps to maintain the social stratification system in the society (caste), it gives parents control over the family members, it enhances the chances to preserve and continue the ancestral line, it provides opportunity to strengthen the kinship group, it allows the consolidation and extension of family property and enables the elders to preserve the principle of endogamy (Chekki 1968, Fox 1975, Goode 1963, Rao and Rao 1982).

To what extent are arranged marriages in Indian society similar to those in the UK? Does culture make a significant difference to the prevalence of arranged marriages? Is the system of arranged marriages changing in the UK?

Bhachu (1985) has argued, the traditional criteria of spouse selection and kinship organisation in the UK of South Asians, follows much the same pattern as that of North India (Berreman 1962, Gould 1960, Karve 1965, Lewis 1965, Madan 1965, 1973, Pocock 1972, Van der Veen 1972, Vatuk 1972). Arranged marriages

take place within one's own caste and inter-caste marriage is not common (Gould 1960, 1961, Macleod 1976, Rowe 1960, Vatuk 1972). Caste endogamy is a basic criterion of marriage arrangement in the UK, as it was back home (Bharanti 1967, Lannoy 1971, Michaelson 1983, Morris 1967, Pocock 1972). Marriage is based upon the rule of exogamy (Dube 1958, Gould 1960, Kapadia 1966, Karve 1965, Madan 1965, Mayer 1960), including the rule of village exogamy (Berreman 1962, Dumont 1966, Gould 1960, Inden 1977, Karve 1965, Lewis 1965, Madan 1965, Mayer 1960, Van der Veen 1972). In the arranged marriage system, ascribed and achieved status is important (Pocock 1972). Residence after marriage is predominantly with the joint family of the groom, in which the daughters in law have subordinate positions in the family (Gould 1960, Lewis 1965, Madan 1965, Naik 1947, Van der Veen 1972, Vatuk 1972).

In marriage selection, education, status and personal moral qualities of both the patrilineal and matrilineal kin are important (Kannan 1978). However, Bhachu (1985) has argued, increased attention is being paid to the individual assets of the spouses as opposed to general family background which has lost prominence since migration, this has also been found in India (Vatuk 1972).

There has been a shift from viewing marriage as a match between two families, (the traditional view), to the more individualistic 'western' notion of marriage being a union of two people (Bhachu 1985, Drury 1991, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990, Van der Veen 1972).

There are profound differences between arranged marriages and the western notions of free marriage (Bharanti 1972, Ghai 1970, Jha 1978, Khan 1979, Lannoy 1971, Michaelson 1983). The most significant being, in the West individuals retain the right to autonomy and personal responsibility for their lives. For South Asians a lower age of marriage is desirable and customary since individuals have no need of courtship patterns. Furthermore,

young South Asians are not socialised into rituals and mechanisms of finding a marriage partner for themselves (Anwar 1979, Ballard 1978, Brah 1978, Kalra 1980, Kannan 1978).

Within South Asian traditions, Hindu, Sikhs and Moslems differ critically in some precepts and customs concerning marriage. The groups from which a partner is drawn may differ (Bharanti 1972, Ghai 1970, Werbner 1979, Westwood 1988). Moslems marry within the kin group, Hindus and Sikhs may not, but may marry within caste or occupational groups (Anwar 1981). For Hindus and Sikhs, the importance of marriage is primarily sacramental, whereas for Muslims it is primarily contractual, which means that attitudes to re-marriage and divorce may be different (Ballard 1978, Brah 1978, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1990). However, the similarities between the three groups in terms of the relationship of the individual to the family, the social and economic importance attached to marriage, the family structure and the possibilities for mate selection are all important concerns (Wilson 1978).

Arranged marriages in the UK are seen as an 'alien' problem. A large amount of media attention has been given to the stereotypes of arranged marriages being forced and performed against the wishes of the young (Anwar 1979, Kalra 1980, Pryce 1979, Rex 1983, 1986, Taylor 1976). Young South Asian women become visible as a stigmatised group when it is thought likely they will experience an arranged marriage (Brah and Minhas 1985). Researchers (Ballard 1978, Bhachu 1985, Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988, 1990) have identified the complexity of the arranged marriage where internal cultural values have evolved in response to external forces, potential conflict has been reduced and cohesion increased. The arranged marriage must be understood in the context of South Asian traditions, culture, religion and family structure of which it is a part.

The research which exists on arranged marriages, (both in India and in the UK), has provided a greater understanding of the

dynamics involved within the South Asian family. However, much of the research is dated and does not specifically examine the arranged marriage system as a patriarchal structure. To what extent is the arranged marriage patriarchal for South Asian women? What difference does participation in an arranged marriage make to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? How are arranged marriages defined? Why do some South Asian women have arranged marriages and others not? What is the relationship between arranged marriages and other structures of patriarchy? Such questions will enable us to explore the differences and diversities which exist in South Asian women's lives and the complexities of the patriarchal structures within which they are involved.

The arranged marriage system itself is related to the dowry. The dowry is considered to be a very important part of the arranged marriage. A great deal of research exists on dowry in India (Beck 1972, Bennett 1983, Camaroff 1980, Fruzzetti 1990, Parry 1979, Tambiah 1972). Dowry is essentially a gift given to the bride or the couple by the girl's parents for the setting up of their new conjugal estate.

Different researchers have used different definitions to describe the dowry. The term dowry, as commonly understood in the South Asian context, conflates several different gifts that are given by the bride's parents at the time of her marriage and usually in forfeit of claims by her on the immoveable property of the parental estate (Miller 1980, Sharma 1994, Uberoi 1994). These are gifts of clothes and jewellery to the bride herself, which largely remain her personal property, household items which may or may not be successfully reclaimed if, and when, the bride and groom set up an independent household (Hooja 1969), gifts of clothes, jewellery and luxury items, (watches, cars, bikes) to the groom and his near kin, substantial sums of cash and consumer goods to the groom's parents to be used at their discretion (Uberoi 1994, Vatuk 1975). Other research (Caplan 1994) has defined the dowry as

consumer goods and cash which are laterally transferred from the bride's family to that of the groom. They are in no sense, the girl's own property, for they are very much under the control of senior male and female members of the groom's household and may be used by them towards the future marriages of the groom's sisters. On the other hand, Vatuk (1975) has defined dowry as a 'bridegroom price', it is one of the long series of asymmetrical gift-giving transactions that mark the relations between 'bride-giving' and 'bride-taking' households. Some researchers have said the daughter is seen as a gift, (the 'gift of the virgin') (Jeffrey 1976, Schlegel 1991, Sharma 1986, Van der Veen 1972). Others (Chekki 1968, Rao and Rao 1982), have demonstrated the dowry as a cash payment. However, the generally used definition of dowry is a more restricted one, referring to the wealth given along with the daughter at marriage (Derrett 1963, Madan 1965, Mauss 1954, Pocock 1972, Tambiah 1972, Van der Veen 1972). The bond between the daughter and her parents never ceases and is reaffirmed at every ceremony, through the presentation of gifts to her and her husband's kin. The groom and his family are recognised as endless receivers of gifts, even long after the marriage (Tambiah 1972, Vatuk 1972).

In North India, dowry marriage is considered to be the most prestigious form of marriage (Karve 1965, Madan 1965). Dowry acts as an indicator and enhancer of family and caste status (Lewis 1965, Madan 1965, 1973, Pocock 1972, Van der Veen 1972, Vatuk 1972). Tambiah (1972) states, dowries enable families of lower status and high wealth to acquire prestige by arranging marriages with higher status families.

On the other hand, dowry may be seen as a 'compensation' to the groom's parents for taking on a non-productive family member, as a 'pre-mortem inheritance', so called in those societies where women have recognised, though severely limited rights in parental property (Goody and Tambiah 1973). Alternatively it may be seen as a response to a situation where there are too

few eligible grooms in the marriage 'market' (Uberoi 1994). It is clear that dowry has the effect of controlling competition among women for the most desirable husbands in a hypergamous marriage market, whilst expanding the pool of desirable wives in the case of men (Elgar 1960, Murickan 1975, Vatuk 1975).

Much research has looked at dowry in India and women's rights in property and roles in production (Agarwal 1988, Miller 1989, Sharma 1989, Uberoi 1994). Despite anti-dowry legislation, the quantum of dowry given and expected in India has sharply increased over recent years, and is increasingly felt to be extortionate. In North India, unmet dowry demands have been associated with extremes of domestic violence, including the notorious phenomenon of 'dowry deaths' (Bordewich 1986, Chhabra 1986, Ghadially et al 1988, Kishwar 1986, Kumari 1989, Stein 1988, van Willigen and Channa 1991). Dowry giving has gained ground among non-Hindu groups (Christians), whose religious ethos gives it no explicit approval (Caplan 1994, Visvanathan 1989).

Social scientists have been concerned to find out to what extent the increase in dowry-giving can be related to other social indicators such as, the decline in the sex-ratio of females vis-a-vis males, the changes in women's relations to production, particularly the declining female workforce participation rate in areas that have experienced agricultural and industrial development, the expansion of the cash economy and the growth in education and literacy (Matthews 1990, Milner 1988, Sharma 1981, Srinvas 1984).

One feature of dowry systems in general, which applies strongly to India, is the concerns of kin groups with maintaining or enhancing social status through marriage (Goody 1971, 1973, 1976). Kishwar (1986) however, has provided a competing explanation to this and argues, the dowry functions to disinherit women and promote their economic dependency on men. Schlegel (1991) more recently, has confirmed the strong

association between dowry transactions and cultural concerns with premarital virginity, which she argues helps to prevent lower class males from claiming wealth through impregnating higher class females. The whole complex of cultural values centering on female 'purity' and the notion that the honour of male kin groups rests on the seclusion and sexual purity of its women, is related to the institution of dowry as an instrument in preserving and perpetuating socioeconomic classes (Mandelbaum 1988).

The expense of providing dowry for daughters is one reason for the relatively intense preference for sons and the relative neglect of female children (Miller 1989). Early research in India suggested attitudes towards dowries were changing (Altekhar 1962, Dumont 1959, Gore 1968, Kapadia 1966, Kurian 1961, Patel and Shah 1969, Prabhu 1963, Vatuk 1972). Yet parents continue to give dowry as they may feel that a lavish dowry will help to secure their daughter's favourable treatment in her in-law's home (Bordewich 1986, Stein 1988). Recent research (Stone and James 1995) has shown dowry, (and dowry exploitation) occur in India because women do not have shared access to new economic opportunities with men and their one traditional source of leverage, their fertility, has possibly diminished in value.

There is little research which has examined the phenomenon of dowries in the UK. Researchers (Bhachu 1985, Chrishna 1975, Dhanjal 1976, Kalra 1980, Kannan 1978, Lannoy 1971, Macleod 1976, Mauss 1954, Robinson 1984, Singh 1953, Wilson 1978) have explained the phenomenon of the dowry in relation to the arranged marriage and characteristics of the South Asian family structure. Different researchers have given different reasons for the importance of the dowry. Some have indicated the inferiority of bride givers to bride takers (Macleod 1976, Singh 1953, Wilson 1978), whilst others (Bhachu 1985, Westwood 1988) have indicated the weak position of the bride herself in the marital home. However, some research (Bhachu 1985, Westwood

1988) has demonstrated a change in the dowry system, where the control of dowry has shifted from the mother-in-law to the daughters, which is based upon the increasing earning potential of brides. More recently, Bhachu (1991) has described how the elaboration of dowry among Sikh women draws on and reproduces their class locations.

The research which exists on dowries in the UK is both descriptive and dated. It has not attempted to examine the dowry system as a patriarchal structure within the household. Dowry giving and dowry taking needs to be explained and analysed in the context of patriarchy within South Asian households. The giving of dowries is considered a ritual in marriage alliances in South Asian communities. Although the amount may vary from one caste to another, one status group to another, one region to another, the practices of dowry have become part and parcel of the marriage system. To what extent is this true for South Asian communities in the UK? To what extent are dowries patriarchal for South Asian women? Are dowries still common? What do dowries consist of? How do they relate to other structures of patriarchy? Such questions will enable us to examine the system of dowries and provide a greater understanding of South Asian women's position within the dowry system and its relationship to other structures of patriarchy such as arranged marriages and households.

EMPLOYMENT, GENDER AND ETHNICITY

This section will examine explanations of women's position in the labour market and specifically how women's experiences in the labour market have been universalised. It will examine the effects of 'race' and ethnicity and how women's experiences in the labour market are affected not only by sexism but by racism.

Women's inferior position in the labour market has been well documented (Beechey 1978, Bruegel 1979, Hakim 1981, Myrdal and Klein 1970, Phillips and Taylor 1980, Walby 1986). Different

researchers have given different explanations for women's position in the labour market. Some writers (Becker 1965, Mincer 1962, 1966, Mincer and Polanchek 1974) have argued, women get paid less than men because they have less skill and labour market experience and fewer qualifications than men, as a consequence of decisions they make in the household. Others, (Kanter 1977, Myrdal and Klein 1970) stress the dual roles performed by women. Some writers (Beechey 1977, 1978, Braverman 1974, Bruegel 1979) have argued, women constitute a 'reserve army of labour'. Yet others (Mackinnon 1979, Stanko 1985, 1988) examine issues such as sexual harassment in the workplace. An attempt has also been made to combine class analysis with the theorisation of patriarchy to explain women's position in the labour market (Cockburn 1983, 1985, Hartmann 1979, 1981a, Walby 1986, 1989, Witz 1987).

It has been argued, most analyses on gender and paid employment treat women as if they were a unitary category which neglect divisions based on 'race' and ethnicity (Carby 1982, Collins 1990, hooks 1984). There is a considerable body of evidence which points to the importance of racial discrimination in structuring the disadvantages faced by South Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups in the labour market (Bergmann 1980a, 1980b, Brah and Shaw 1992, Dex 1983, Mama 1984, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Phizacklea 1983, 1988, 1990, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995, Rex and Moore 1967, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Roberts 1994, Wallace 1982).

Early studies point to the direct and indirect discrimination in terms of access to employment, promotion and training (Allen et al 1977, Brown 1984, Daniel 1968, Freeman 1982, Smith 1974, 1980). Other research has shown, there is extensive discrimination against South Asian and Afro-Caribbeans. Even when they have equivalent or better qualifications than their white counterparts, their search for jobs is less successful (Brooks and Singh 1978b, Drew et al 1991, Hubbuck and Carter 1980, Lee and Wrench 1983, Roberts 1994, Troyna and Smith

1985). There is evidence that a substantial proportion of South Asian women, (especially Muslim women) are involved in homeworking (Anthias 1983, Beechey 1986, Brouwer and Priester 1983, Mitter 1986, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995, West 1982) and they are more likely to be unemployed (Afshar 1989, Brah 1979, Brah and Golding 1983, Brah and Minhas 1985, Lutz 1991, Parmar and Mirza 1993, Shaw 1988). Evidence shows that even in industries where female labour predominates, women of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean descent are found to be concentrated in the lowest level jobs (Beechey 1986, Bruegel 1988, 1994). Occupational segregation by gender affects all women, but within specific occupations women of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean origin are at a greater disadvantage than white women (Owen and Green 1992).

Throughout the last four decades, evidence of discrimination against South Asian groups has grown steadily (Daniel 1968, Smith 1974). More recently Brah and Shaw (1992) have argued, Muslim women's involvement in paid work, (whether inside or outside the home), was not seen by them as unequivocally advantageous. 'The double shift', of combining paid work with domestic responsibilities, mitigated against many of the advantages of having a job. Furthermore, Brah (1993) has stressed the role of multiple determinations in the relation of young Muslim women to the labour market. More recently West and Pilgrim (1995) have recognised the diversity of experience of different groups of South 'Asian' women in the labour market, the impact of migration and the local economy on women's familial responsibilities. They found the participation of Bengali women in the labour force was virtually nil and experience for Pakistani women was minimal, but Indian women (Gujeratis) had extensive employment experiences (Malek 1986, Owen and Green 1992, Rafiq 1992) However, West and Pilgrim (1995) do not examine the differences between the 'external' and 'internal' labour markets, which indicates Bengali women are more likely to participate in the 'internal' labour market, working at home.

There are important differences in the economic, political, legal and ideological position of migrant black women when compared to other women. This is no more evident than in the labour market. As migrants, they experience racial subordination which acts to confine them in certain types of work and reinforces their exploitation as waged workers. These forms of exploitation are shaped and experienced in a particular way because they share with all women subordination as a gender.

It has been shown that migrant and female labour force constitute an attractive labour force (Bryan et al 1985, Phizacklea 1983). Both migrant and female labour forces share similar characteristics, they have been 'produced' by the demand for labour in certain low-wage sectors of the economy and they are confined to these sectors, often by specific polices and practices which are partially justified by the assumption of inferior characteristics (Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Phizacklea 1983, Stone 1983).

In the case of women, that inferiority stems from the fact that their primary role is not defined as a waged worker, but as an actual or potential wife and mother who is dependent upon a male 'breadwinner' (Parsons and Bales 1956, Stone 1983). This definition of their role has far reaching consequences for the conditions under which they sell their labour power (Beechey 1986). As Phillips and Taylor (1980) have commented:

> ...capital is concerned not just with a logic of surplus extraction but with an assertion of command it is necessarily sensitive to, those social relations which make some workers already more subordinated than others. (1980:86)

It is only within this context that we can understand how male organised labour has struggled to exclude women from areas of waged work where women were viewed as competitors (Alexander

1976). Also, how the demand for the family wage was consistent with these exclusionary practices and could be justified as providing the material preconditions for conformity to the bourgeois family form of 'male breadwinner' and 'dependent wife' (Land 1980).

Some researchers (Anwar 1979, Bayliss and Coates 1965, Davison 1968, Stone 1983) have shown, the economic circumstances of black migrant women are less favourable than those of white women, because the ratio of dependents to working adults is higher in black households than in white households and minority families frequently have financial obligations to family members in their country of origin. Whilst other researchers (Bruegel 1988, 1994, Jayaweera 1993, Phizacklea 1983, 1988) have argued, minority women in the post-war periods have entered a highly segregated labour market, where as Phizacklea (1990) states:

> women generally are confined to low pay, low status and gender-specific employment (1990:98).

Research has shown (Anwar 1979, Phizacklea 1983, 1988) that many ethnic minorities are concentrated in the clothing industry as homeworkers, which is reproducing the traditional, class, gender and racial divisions of labour (Cockburn 1985, Kaplinsky 1984, Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995). Hakim (1991) has argued that homeworkers have higher job satisfaction because their jobs can be fitted into their own lifestyle as they have more freedom and flexibility.

Furthermore, recession, redundancy and racial discrimination in the labour market has forced an increasing number of minority men into entrepreneurship and minority women to work for them, where the ethnic economy is a gendered economy (Morokvasic 1994, Phizacklea 1988, 1990, Ram 1993, Westwood and Bhachu 1988).

Some researchers have attempted to explain the continuing rise in women's paid employment in the 1980's set against a significant decline in full-time male jobs. Behind this overall tendency, Acker (1992) and Reskin and Padavic (1994) cite four distinct, but related trends affecting the structure of women's employment in all advanced societies:

1. Restructuring of employment occurred initially in manufacturing, leading to a relative decline in the better paid, male dominated sectors of manufacturing production.
2. The authors note a polarisation in skill demands in which women's jobs are increasingly divided between routine low-wage highly controlled work and non-routine, relatively autonomous higher waged jobs.
3. There has been a growth in flexible work organisations. The search for lower labour and related costs is producing an expansion in the contingent labour force where jobs lack the permanence, security or protection previously enjoyed by many or most male industrial workers. Some writers (Jenson et al 1988) have talked about the 'feminisation of the labour force' which not only refers to women constituting an increased proportion of the labour force, but is often used to refer to declining terms and conditions of employment, so that a larger proportion of the labour force has come to experience 'feminised', (poor and insecure), conditions of work (Reskin and Padavik 1994, Woody 1992).
4. There is an increasing 'diversity' within the labour force, as demographic trends project an increasing participation of women and non-white minorities as a proportion of the labour force, (although this does seem to be cited more in the US). The emphasis on diversity is marginalising the language of 'equality' and subsequently making it more difficult for women to demand the rights and benefits that male employees previously took for granted, (at least in large enterprises). It may also obscure the occupational segregation which continues along racial and gender lines (Liff 1993). The language of 'diversity' can obscure continuing inequalities in the employment situations of black and white men and women and

other minority groups, as well as the ways in which they are affected by restructuring.

Recent research has indicated the degree of racialised segregation that continues to exist in British labour markets (Bhavnani 1994, Bruegel 1994, Jones 1994, Owen 1994). Roberts (1994) has shown, even when black and ethnic minority women are skilled and experienced, they are twice as likely to be unemployed and work longer hours in poorer conditions for lower pay than white women. Furthermore, the figures are considerably lower for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, who were five times more likely to be unemployed than white women, the gap being greatest in recessionary periods. The Equal Opportunities Commission suggest (Roberts 1994) three reasons for this:

1. Ethnic minority women may have less access to informal organisational networks which may help them in gaining access to a wider range of jobs.
2. Some ethnic minority groups are more likely to use 'word of mouth' recruitment methods which distance them from formal job search methods.
3. Employers are more likely to be operating discriminatory practices in a recession.

Another factor which is important in comparing black and white women's job levels, is that ethnic minority women are much more likely to work full-time than white women (70% compared to 50% of white women, Roberts 1994). Even though more ethnic women are now working, they work through financial necessity, caused by higher rates of black male unemployment, larger family size, lower household incomes and the necessity of working longer hours to bring home something approximating a living wage (Phizacklea and Wolkowitz 1995).

Women's experiences in the labour market vary considerably by 'race' and gender which may have a significant impact on women's pay and job levels (Bruegel 1994, Collins 1990, Elias and Gregory 1992, King 1988, 1990, Leffler 1992, McGuire and Reskin 1993, Power 1988, West and Pilgrim 1995). An

understanding of racist structures must be considered as an essential part of the explanation of gender relations in paid employment, as the interactive impacts of 'race' and gender on labour force experience remain unclear. Although the research has examined non-white women's experiences in the labour market it has not specifically examined in any detail, the labour market experiences of South Asian women and the diversity of South Asian women's experience itself. To what extent has the labour market experiences of South Asian women changed in the past decade? Are there significant differences between South Asian groups? How does the labour market act as a patriarchal structure in explaining South Asian women's position within the labour market? How is this in turn related to the household? To what extent do the labour market experiences of South Asian women affect patriarchal definitions? Such questions will enable us to examine the diversity of experiences which exist for South Asian women and explore the interrelationship of 'race' and gender and its effects upon the position of women. Ethnicity and racism do not only create differences and inequalities in the labour market, they also affect the nature of gender relations themselves.

HOUSEHOLDS AND MARRIED WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

This section will examine how women's participation in paid employment affects who carries out domestic labour tasks and how this in turn affects women's position within households. It will examine the relationship between paid employment and domestic labour and how women may be affected by this relationship.

It has been shown that women's employment affects their participation in domestic labour (England and Farkas 1986, Gershuny et al 1986, Jowell and Witherspoon 1985, Laite and Halfpenny 1987, Michelson 1985, Pahl 1984, Yeandle 1984). Many writers have investigated the dual-roles performed by women and state it is women who perform all aspects of domestic labour, (even when they work). Paid employment does not release women

from domestic responsibilities and allow them free time as it does for men (Greico 1987, Luxton 1980, Newland 1980, Seymour 1992, Shelton 1992, Shelton and Firestone 1989). Pleck (1985) examines domestic labour in dual-earner couples and reports from three different studies (Messiner et al 1975, Robinson 1977, Walker and Woods 1976) which consistently show that men do not participate more in housework and childcare when their wives are employed. Other research (Brannen and Moss 1990, Doucet 1995, Hertz 1986, Hillier and Philliber 1989) has shown, women who are in dual-career marriages have a quality marriage and are able to negotiate different roles, where household chores are more likely to be shared. However, men are more likely to be involved in pleasurable, leisurely child-care tasks, rather than routine daily household tasks (Barnett and Brunch 1987, Hochschild 1989, Wheelock 1990).

Some writers see participation in domestic labour as being tied to social class background (Eriksen et al 1979, Ferree 1987, Morris 1985, Rainwater 1959) or education (Farkas 1975). Other writers in the 1950's and 1960's (Dennis 1956, Goode 1963, Komarovsky 1964) depict highly sex-segregated roles in working class communities. Davis (1982) however, states as more and more women enter the workforce, they and their husbands must deal with the mechanisms of dividing the work labelled 'housework and childcare'.

Some writers (Hochschild 1989, Morris 1990, Wheelock 1990) provide a four-fold typology of male behaviour, (which includes traditional, traditional-rigid, traditional-flexible and renegotiated roles). Yet others (Barnett and Brunch 1987, Blumstein and Schwartz 1983, Brannen and Moss 1990, Doucet 1995, Geerken and Gove 1983) state hours of work for women can be seen as a direct representation of their economic power, the more economic power women have, the more their husbands will be prepared to take on what is traditionally considered women's work. More recent research however (Alcoff and Potter 1993, Doucet 1995), has pointed out that gender inequality cannot be

adequately understood:

> ...except as a component of complex interrelationship with other systems of identification or hierarchy (Alcoff and Potter 1993:3).

These studies have examined the relationship between women and men's employment and the organisation of domestic duties within the home and have demonstrated how the organisation of, and participation in paid work necessarily plays a major part in the internal dynamics of the household (Berk 1985, Brannen and Moss 1990, Doucet 1995, Hochschild 1989). There is little work explaining the effects of 'race' (Glenn 1991, McAdoo 1988, Mirande 1988, Pleck 1985). However, black feminists (Collins 1990, hooks 1984) have argued that, feminists have talked about work outside the home as being the key to liberation as it would allow women to break the rules of economic dependency upon men, which would enable them to resist sexist domination, but ignored the fact that a vast majority of black women were already working outside the home. The early feminist perpetuation of the notion 'work liberates women', alienated poor working class and black women from the feminist movement. There was an indication from white feminists, that women who already worked had been 'liberated'. So, these so-called 'liberated' women were excluded from the movement. Indeed, hooks (1984) has argued the increased entry of bourgeois women into the workforce was not a sign that women as a group were gaining economic power. Whilst black feminists examined the labour market situation for black women, they did not specifically examine the situation for South Asian women. To what extent is the situation different for South Asian women? Does their participation in paid work demonstrate their oppression or their liberation?

Most studies on gender and household labour have concentrated on couples who are professional, middle class and white and see gender differences in household life as disadvantageous as they

further inhibit gender equality outside the home. How does South Asian women's position outside the household (in the labour market) affect their position within it (in terms of domestic labour)? How do differences within the household relate to inequality outside the household for South Asian women? If South Asian women work in the labour market, does this mean they carry the double burden of paid labour and domestic labour? How does South Asian women's participation in paid labour and domestic labour affect forms of patriarchy they experience? What is the relationship between the labour market and the household as patriarchal structures? Does culture make a difference to women's power and negotiation in terms of participation in domestic and paid labour? The sexual division of labour has different implications for non-white women. Examining South Asian women's labour market experience in order to analyse the general patterns of 'race' and gender inequality is one primary area of analysis. Rather than trying to explain why South Asian women's work and family patterns may deviate from the alleged norm, a more fruitful approach lies in challenging the very constructs of work and family and what they mean for South Asian women. It is important to investigate non-white groups in order to examine the effects of cultural difference and the range of difference which may exist for women.

SOUTH ASIAN HOUSEHOLDS

This section will examine South Asian 'households' and how they have been investigated in the UK and in India. It will examine the differences 'race' and ethnicity make to forms of household structures and how household structures can enable us to understand the relationship between gender, 'race' and South Asian women's position within households.

Writings on households and family have concentrated on the white family and this has been recognised by black feminists (Carby 1982, hooks 1982, 1984, Parmar 1982) who argue there are significant differences in family forms between different

ethnic groups and that the family is less a source of oppression for women of colour than it is for white women, (see the section on Patriarchy and the Family for a detailed discussion of this).

Concepts such as 'household' and 'family' are problematic, here I shall be concentrating on the concept of 'household', (see the section on Household and Domestic Labour for a detailed discussion of this). The household has often been taken as a unit to be approached for obtaining information about individuals in a population. It has also been viewed as the basic entity (the minimal primary group in the system of groupings in society). While it is difficult to arrive at a minimal or universal accepted definition of the household, some comparison across cultures and societies needs to be attempted. Membership of a household is not a simple issue. There are likely to be different categories of membership in a household with different rights in, and access to, resources and varying expectations. The concept of the 'normal' in respect of household compositions differs across communities and cultures.

The area occupied for the purpose of carrying out ones daily existence is regarded as a 'household', (residential unit, living arrangements of a family or domestic group). The family itself plays a vital role in households and influences the whole extent of social organisation and culture.

In South Asian communities, both in Britain and in India, there is a wide variation in the type of domestic groups, ranging from husband, wife and children to larger extended families with three or four generations, patrilineal or patrilocal, matrilineal or matrilocal. In some cases, the entire domestic group may not live in the same household, but may be spread out. The problem lies in whether each residential unit should be regarded as a single household or whether the 'cluster of residential units' should be regarded as a single household.

Very little research exists on South Asian 'households', however a vast amount of literature exists on the South Asian family and its workings (Anwar 1985, Ballard and Ballard 1977, Bhachu 1985, Chandan 1986, Desai 1963, Ghuman 1980, Kalra 1980, Kannan 1978, Khan 1976, Shaw 1988, Werbner 1979, Wilson 1978. See the section on South Asian Family for a detailed discussion).

The research that does exist on South Asian households in the UK, has examined the relationship between South Asian households and employment practices (Warrier 1988).

Countering earlier discussions of Indian women which present them as lacking autonomy in their lives (Brown et al 1981, Standing 1985), Bhachu (1988) has shown how waged work empowers Sikh women in Britain and has had definite effects within the domestic sphere. It has given Sikh women more resources with which to negotiate changes in the division of labour within the home and also in the patterns of expenditure which they control. Households since migration, according to Bhachu (1988), have become more egalitarian, with a decrease in sex segregation and increased contact between women and their husbands.

Warrier (1988) however, examines production relations (in employment), which situate women as workers and class members, and relations of production (in households), which situate women as wives and mothers. She states, forms of households in which Gujerati women live are differentiated in relation to three major patterns: a household of parents and children, the general pattern of a three generational household and a joint household formed by brothers with or without parents. Household composition is not fixed, it could be fluid and grow or diminish in relation to a pattern of visiting and staying with relatives in other parts of the country.

The difficulties of 'fixing' and thereby verifying households

as a unit of analysis is underlined when treating households as single units in terms of the generation and allocation of resources. To do so, neither allows for the differential access that men and women, adults and children have to household resources, nor does it alert the analysis to the important sources of both support and conflict that exist within and beyond households.

Werbner (1988) states that when Pakistani women work, their wages are their own, unlike those of women in rural Punjab (Sharma 1981). The pivotal role fulfilled by women in the formation of interhousehold networks raises the question, whether these networks may be regarded as part of the 'domestic' or 'public domains' (cf Bujra 1978, Rosaldo 1973, Yanagisako 1979). However, Werbner (1988) regards the networks as constituting the nexus of the public and the domestic, mediating between the more formal context of public activity and the privacy and affectivity of domestic household life.

To what extent are household forms in South Asia different to those in the UK? To what extent do cultural forces have a significant impact on definitions of households in South Asia in comparison to the UK? How does this affect South Asian women's position within society and forms of patriarchy they experience? To what extent are households considered to be an important structure of patriarchy in South Asian communities in the UK?

There is a vast amount of literature which exists on households in South Asia. It was not until the distinction between the 'household' and the 'family' was firmly established by Mayer (1960:182) in South Asia and Bender (1967) and Yanagisako (1979) elsewhere, that ethnographers began to analyse households as a distinct social realms with their own characteristics. Early work on households in South Asia examined the relationship between household and kinship structures (Kolenda 1968, Madan 1965, Mayer 1960, Shah 1974).

Whilst other writers had seeked to provide an understanding of households as domestic realms and their relationship to the encompassing society (Beck 1972, Bennett 1983, Berreman 1972, Frickle 1987, Khare 1976, Kumari 1989, Parry 1979, Sharma 1981, 1986, Srinvas 1976, Vatuk 1972).

In South Asian communities in India the household is considered to be one of the most significant social groups in people's lives, it is the primary place for socialisation and for the constitution of an individual's identity (Caldwell et al 1984, Daniel 1984, Hanjal 1982, Wilk and Netting 1984). It is also the location and beneficiary of a majority of the rituals performed by members of South Asian communities (Gray and Mearns 1989).

Writers have provided a critical and analytical issue of households (Gray 1989, Kondo 1989, Mearns 1989), whilst others have shown how the variety and dynamism of domestic forms in South Asia is related to historical, geographical, economic and social conditions in which it is constituted (Kolenda 1989, Shah 1974, Sharma 1989). Some writers have compared households over time and between cultures (Laslett and Carter 1984). Yet others, have examined the variety of forms the domestic realm takes in South Asia (McGilvray 1989, Vatuk 1989, Wilk and Netting 1984).

Different writers (Carter 1984, Gray and Mearns 1989, Kolenda 1989, Mearns 1989) give different definitions for 'households'. Some have taken an historical perspective on households (Sanjek 1982, Verdon 1980, Yanagisako 1979). Others have provided methodological contributions to the study of households (Carter 1984, Freed and Freed 1982, 1983). Some research has looked at urban-rural differences in households (Dyson and Moore 1983, Kapadia 1966, Kolenda 1968, 1989, Mandelbaum 1970, Miller 1980) and gender inequality in households (Bardhan 1980, Das Gupta 1987, Mies 1986, Papanek 1990, Sharma 1981, 1986).

Clearly a concentration on households does not predict a single

approach or point of focus for specific analyses of the relationships it encompasses within its social space. Households have been much debated in the last decade (Smith et al 1984, Wilk and Netting 1984). Much of this debate has been at a general level and has chosen empirical material from an extremely diverse set of societies. Where the debate has focused on functions of households in relation to the processes at work in the larger social system, the conclusions have all too often been rather general and unilluminating, precisely because the forms and functions of households in their particular contexts are highly variable (Gray and Mearns 1989).

To make too quick a judgement on the social and cultural significance of households may be to beg a lot of prior questions as to the very nature of forms of households and whether they are identifiable as a single logical entity (Gray and Mearns 1989). Household relations are the major experiential mediator between the 'individual' and 'society'. They are also the primary context through which both are reproduced. There are many problems associated with conceptualising households. Saradomoni (1992) argues households cannot be treated as private entities separable from the context in which they are embedded. Yet Kalpagam (1992) has argued, the distinction between the domestic and public spheres and the societal ideas about relating women to the domestic sphere have contributed to the 'invisibility' of women's work and life.

This section has examined the analysis of households in the UK and in India. Households are not static and insulated units, but are constantly shaped by societal changes and processes. The development of capitalism, modernisation and urbanisation each has its impact on households. The composition of household activities (production/reproduction) is different at different points in history. So, the intra-household arrangements between members of households are expected to change. Change and continuity are likely to affect different households

differently which calls for a differential approach to the study of women and households. New methodologies of enquiry need to be developed regarding women and households, so that the characteristics of all adult members will be taken into account and examined within the context of households in which they live. It is important to obtain pertinent information about all women in households and describe the changing roles of women in relation to domestic arrangements and the household economy.

This section has examined households and the differing effects they may have upon women. There are different definitions of what constitutes a household and who lives in a household. It is crucial to examine the influence of 'race' and how this may affect definitions of households and relations within them. How do definitions of households affect forms of patriarchy experienced by different women? To what extent do households constitute a structure of patriarchy? Such questions will enable us to examine the relevance of household structures and differences in household forms that exist for South Asian women in Britain.

THE WELFARE STATE

This section will examine the significance of the welfare state and its relationship to education. Education is an important function of the welfare state. What is the role of the welfare state in relation to education? To what extent is the welfare state patriarchal? Whose interests are being served by the welfare state? What have previous studies on the welfare state informed us about its importance, significance and relationship to education?

Different researchers have given different definitions of the welfare state. Morrish (1987) has defined the welfare state as:

> ...an association of people, a specific organisation of society which is responsible for performing political functions and which possess the ultimate power of coercion and sanction. (1987:82)

Whereas, Bryson (1992) has defined the welfare state as:

> ...a nation which has at least a minimum level of institutionalised provisions for meeting the basic economic and social requirements of its citizens...its emphasis is on the provision of the classic forms of social welfare. (1992:36).

Bryson (1992) has argued, definitions of the welfare state are too narrow in that they do not include the experiences of under-represented groups, such as women and ethnic minorities. This has led some researchers to deal with the concept of 'race' (Barrett and Macintosh 1985, Williams 1989) or to analyse welfare issues directly from a feminist theoretical standpoint (Abramovitz 1988, Baldock and Cass 1983, Dale and Foster 1986, Pascall 1986, Williams 1989, Wilson 1977) and provide a gendered theory of the state (Connell 1990, Franzway et al 1989). Yet others (Gough 1979) provide a political economic approach to the welfare state. Research on the welfare state has examined social security, personal welfare services, health, public housing, education and welfare dependency (Edwards 1988, Gough 1979, Segalman and Marsland 1989, Thane 1982, Wilensky and Lebeaux 1965).

A function of the welfare state is to ensure that its members are educated. The role of the state is to provide for a certain homogeneity of mores, behaviour, activity and thought. Some researchers (for instance Segalman and Marsland 1989) have argued, that education is a critical dimension of intergenerational dependency, in that it is basic for an individual in preparing for and accepting an occupational role. Education provides an individual with the necessary verbal and written skills of communication. It provides the learning of social skills and norms necessary for productive interaction

with others.

Other researchers (Morrish 1987) have argued, the welfare state prescribes education by law, interprets the law and both judges what is considered to be an infringement and provide enforcement. The role of the welfare state through its legislature and the subsequent administration of the local educational authorities is to ensure that parents compel their children to go to school.

In the post-war years, there was agreement at the level of principle about the need for government intervention to ensure economic growth, full employment and the provision of more or less comprehensive welfare systems (Greenleaf 1987, Middlemas 1979, 1986). The social politics of education had been concerned with the issue of state-provided secondary education for at least two decades before the publication of the 1943 White Paper and the subsequent 1944 Education Act. Indeed, earlier struggles for state secondary education can be dated as far back as the early nineteenth century (Simon 1974).

In the context of the twentieth century, there had been quite substantial political activity in the education field in the inter-war years. As early as 1920, attempts were being made at a parliamentary level to move beyond elementary education for all, to secondary education for all (Griffiths 1971, Rubinstein and Simon 1973). A consensus on policies for schooling emerged during the war years. The policy principle was clear, secondary schooling should be provided as a compulsory and free part of a state education system (Rubinstein and Simon 1973, Sullivan and Reynolds 1987). By the beginning of the second World War, the views of the Labour Party, the TUC and the teaching unions, had to some degree at least been incorporated into a wider consensus among opinion-formers and policy advisers. The push for secondary education had succeeded in influencing opinion formers, even if the progress of policy ideas on multilateral schooling had been limited. However later, the pressures of

economic failure, critiques of state welfare from the left and right, evidence of the failure of the welfare state to fulfil its aims and a move away from consensus, all combined to a process of consensus disintegration. This fragmentation was recognised by the growth of feminist analyses of welfare during the 1960's and the 1970's. Much of the analysis was informed by and had links with the critique developed within Marxism. This new form of politics tended to see the welfare state, as one of the chief achievements of the era of consensus, as in part an oppressive institution concerned with the maintenance of patriarchal relationships, income maintenance polices had reinforced the idea of women's dependence on men and their role as homeworkers (Delamont 1980, Wilson 1977), educational polices had been so designed as to pose as unproblematic the hidden curriculum in schools that socialised girls into their future roles as wives and mothers (Deem 1978, Delamont 1980, Wilson 1977). Social work had been used to police families in general and women in particular in order to ensure that socialisation functions appropriate to a gendered social world were carried out (Donzelot 1980, Handler 1973).

Furthermore, feminists have been concerned with the debate over citizenship (Fraser 1987, Hernes 1987, 1988, Mitchell 1987, Pateman 1987) because it allows a focus on fundamental, albeit classic political liberal issues in the debate about equality. The legitimacy of the liberal democratic state is tied to principles of equal treatment and universal principles. Hence, demonstrable failure to deliver on these principles provides a level for pressure groups. Anti-racist and liberal feminist projects aimed at promoting equal opportunities are able to make use of this lever. A disclosure on citizenship encourages questions about what it is that prevents equality and provides a means of escape from at least some of the restrictions of traditional definitions. It can incorporate both reproduction and production (Dale and Foster 1986). Turner (1986) uses a tripartite division of citizenship, being comprised of civil, political and social citizenship.

This section has examined the significance of the welfare state and its relationship to education. The welfare state has been shown to be patriarchal. What is the relationship of non-white women to the welfare state? Does colour, culture and 'race' make a difference to women's position within society and their relationship to the welfare state? To what extent is the welfare state patriarchal for South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to examine the different relationships of South Asian women to the welfare state and the extent to which the welfare state is patriarchal for them.

GENDER AND EDUCATION

How does education affect women's position within society? How have explanations of women and education enabled us to understand patriarchal relations in education? How do levels of education affect women's position in society? This section will examine women's relationship to education and how it has been explained.

Early studies on Sociology and education were criticised for being man-made (Smith 1979, Westcott 1979). By the late 1970's women and education seemed to be emerging as a subfield to be studied in its own right (Arnot 1985, Byrne 1978, Deem 1978, Delamont 1980, Spender 1985). By the mid-1980's the visibility of what Arnot (1985) called, the 'Sociology of Women's Education' had increased further still (Acker et at 1984, Arnot and Weiner 1987, Weiner 1985, Whyte et al 1985) this also included questions of 'race' and gender (Barton and Walker 1983).

Feminist work on the social processes within schools and the ways in which schooling contributes to the reproduction of gender relations includes work by Macdonald (1980), who suggests that schools transmit a gender-code which reproduces the power-relations of male-female hierarchy. Davies and Meighan (1975) have recognised the existence of patriarchal structures within school hierarchies. Other researchers have

shown textbook biases against women (Delamont 1980, Dyhouse 1977, Lobban 1975) and low teacher expectations for girls (Claricoates 1978, Davies 1979, Fuller 1978).

Recent writings on education have examined teacher education (Coffey and Acker 1991) and barriers which have led to success in education for women (Dale 1992, Shilling 1993). Examples of the difficulty of accomplishing reforms based on gender equity and non-sexist teaching can be found in the work of Davies (1989), Gilbert and Taylor (1991), Walkerdine (1986) and Weiller (1988). Jones (1993) has emphasised how classroom studies stress multiple subjectivities and multiple notions of femininity, (which see all girls as equally subordinate). Whereas Weiller (1988) has argued the white, middle class teacher finds it harder to empathise with students of a different colour or class, who in turn appear to reject an alternative discourse they are trying to put into practice.

Liberal feminists have examined four major themes in education: equal opportunities, socialisation and sex-stereotyping and sex discrimination. Byrne (1978) argues that separate educational provision for girls has meant inferior facilities and restricted features for girls. Arnot (1981) and DuBois et al (1985) argue, girls are taught to be socialised into traditional attitudes and orientations that limit their futures unnecessarily to sex-stereotyped occupations and familial roles. Strategies for educational change emanating from liberal feminism follow from the conceptual base. In general, there is an attempt to alter socialisation practices, change attitudes and use legal processes. The gathering and disseminating of information and evidence is important (Middleton 1984, Whyte 1986). Weiner (1986) provides a list of liberal-feminist strategies aimed at changing the attitudes of teachers and children. However, the critics of liberal feminism point to the limitations of the conceptual framework, ideas about equality and opportunity and the reliance on socialisation and sex-role models. Why socialisation proceeds as it does with such

consequences is unexplained (Connell 1985). It is argued that, labour market processes and capitalism are regarded uncritically. Change is conceptualised as if it were merely a matter of appealing to good will (Acker 1984) and that male frameworks such as 'career' remain unchallenged by attempts to make a few women assertive enough to succeed in them (Weiner 1986). Liberal feminism is accused, above all, of ignoring the impact of patriarchal power and the systematic subordination of women by men (O'Brien 1986, Weiner 1986), as well as the effects of racism and class hegemony (Arnot 1981, 1982).

Socialist Feminism however, asks how is education related to the reproduction of gender divisions within capitalism (Arnot and Weiner 1987)? Other socialist feminists have explained the links between the school and motherhood (David 1984). However, it is in strategies for educational action that socialist feminist writing appears most underdeveloped. This situation is demonstrated by Weiner's (1986) comparison of equal opportunities (liberal) and anti-sexist educational strategies. After a series of critiques from black British women (Amos and Parmar 1981, Carby 1982), socialist feminist writings on education have shown an increasing awareness that gender, 'race' and class interact in complex ways to shape girls' lives in and out of school (Brah and Deem 1986, Brah and Minhas 1985). Some of the generalisations in the feminist literature about marriage and the family, or the description of girls' conformity and resistance in schools, or the argument about single-sex schools, may need reworking as they have taken middle class white British experiences as an unquestioned departure point.

Like socialist feminists, radical feminists want to see a fundamental change in the social structure, one that will eliminate male dominance and patriarchal structures. O'Brien (1986) argues we need to abolish gender as an oppressive cultural reality. Spender (1985) examines ways in which gatekeeping processes silence women and the role of language in

controlling how women conceptualise themselves and their world. Weiner (1985) argues, radical feminists have successfully legitimated the discussion of sexuality and sexual harassment in schools, topics that were formerly ignored. Other writers (Jones 1993, Weiner 1985) have examined anti-sexist strategies for teachers and girls. What runs through these works, is a commitment to place girls and women at the centre of concern. However, radical feminists have been criticised for being descriptive rather than explanatory and biologically reductionist or essentialist (Middleton 1984). Other writers (Connell 1985, Murphy and Livingstone 1985) argue, radical feminists generalise about all women and all men, this directs attention away from divisions that cut across or complicate men/women categories, such as class, 'race', nationality and age. However, some radical feminists (Weiner 1985) have tried to consider racism along with sexism in terms of education.

In the 1970's and 1980's inequality in British schools almost always meant social class inequality (Mortimore and Blackstone 1982, Rutter and Madge 1976, Wedge and Prosser 1973). These researchers firmly equated disadvantage with social class membership. By the mid-1980's chapters on 'race', gender and special needs began to appear in books on inequality (Hartnett and Naish 1986, Purvis and Hales 1983, Rogers 1986). Problems in the conceptualisation of 'inequality of opportunity', had been apparent for some time (Coleman 1968), but critiques escalated from diverse commentators (Murphy 1981, Yates 1986). Replacing social justice on the agenda were goals such as upholding standards, regulating the curriculum, increasing parental choice and increasing school effectiveness (David 1993, Flude and Hammer 1990). Writers such as Wright (1987) have suggested, to consider gender without reference to class or 'race' produces an incomplete picture, as gender variables may operate differently in the multi-racial classroom.

Much of the writings on education and gender have neglected the importance of 'race'. We need to continue questioning the

utility of the concept 'woman' as a homogenous category. For example, the discussion of access to higher education requires better information on the combined effects of class, gender and ethnicity. Most official statistics generalise about 'women' and do not give information for ethnic groups. What do ethnic trends in the level of education of women tell us about the likelihood of women being economically active? It appears that social class inequality in higher education is evident for both sexes and that earlier tendencies for class disadvantage to be greater for women are no longer reported (Blackburn and Jarman 1993, Egerton and Halsey 1993). Modood (1993) suggests that class and ethnicity interact in complex ways. He argues that social class effects are quite different for different ethnic groups. Maynard (1990) makes a similar point about class and gender. In the study of education, gender needs to be maintained as a significant focus, but without loosing sight of the diversity of women and the danger of generalisations. Women are more likely to be in the labour force and are less likely to live in nuclear families than they were ten years ago. The manual jobs that once made up the mainstay of male working class life have declined dramatically, part-time jobs in the service industries, many traditionally female, account for increases in job positions (Webb 1989). In fact, such changes in the economy Blackburn and Jarman (1993) speculate may be the driving force behind the increase in women's participation in higher education.

This section has outlined existing research on gender and education and how gender affects women's achievement. Many of the studies on education and gender did not examine the influence of 'race' and ethnicity. What difference do 'race' and ethnicity make to women's achievements in education? The following section will discuss the influence of ethnicity in terms of educational achievement.

EDUCATION, 'RACE' AND ETHNICITY

Whilst many of the writings on gender and education have underestimated the significance of difference and diversity, other writings have attempted to examine the relationship between ethnicity and educational achievement. This section examines how ethnicity and educational achievement helps us to explain the position of South Asian women in society. What can previous writings on South Asian women tell us about their experiences in education? How well are South Asian women performing in education?

In the UK, the educational achievement of students of ethnic minority background has become a focus of growing concern for members of majority as well as minority communities during the last 30 years. The existence and nature of ethnic or gender differences in attainment in national qualifications, which are of such significance in determining future education and employment prospects, are clearly of particular relevance to the consideration of equality in access to such opportunities.

Measures of low income, unemployment, eligibility for free school meals, large family size, one parent family status and poor housing conditions have been found to be powerful predictors of academic attainment (Davie et al 1972, Douglas 1964, Essen and Wedge 1982, Mortimore and Blackstone 1982, Rutter and Madge 1976). UK research has focused on identifying the factors associated with poor educational attainment and laid an emphasis on the concept of educational deprivation (Hutchinson et al 1979, Macintosh et al 1988, Macintosh and Mascie-Taylor 1985, Maughan and Dunn 1988, Sammons et al 1983). High social class, gender, greater level of parental education and qualifications has been found to be associated with greater participation in higher education (Mortimore et al 1988, Nuttall et al 1989, Sammons et al 1985). A recent research review has been provided by Brown and Riddell (1992) concerning the topics of social class (Patterson 1992), gender (Riddell 1992) and ethnicity (Gillborn 1992).

Research has shown that children from Afro-Caribbean backgrounds are more likely to fare worst at school than their white counterparts (Flanders 1970, Green 1983, Little 1978, Parekh 1978, 1988, Rampton 1981, Smith and Tomlinson 1989, Stone 1981, Swann 1985, Verma 1986, Verma and Ashworth 1981). However, very little research has examined the ways in which South Asian pupils have experienced and responded to schooling in this country. Although South Asian pupils appear in studies carried out by Wright (1985, 1987), they are conspicuous by their absence from her qualitative accounts of pupil adaption in multi-ethnic schools. Several writers have commented upon the relatively positive nature of teacher stereotypes of South Asian students when compared with Afro-Caribbean students (Brittan 1976, Gillborn 1990, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Tomlinson 1981, 1983).

Research carried out on South Asian students indicates they both behave and achieve more positively than their Afro-Caribbean peers in schools (Brittan 1976, Mac an Ghaill 1988). Research has shown the crucial differences between the experiences of South Asian and Afro-Caribbean pupils (Gillborn 1990, Jelink and Brittan 1975, Kawwa 1968, Rowley 1968, Smith and Tomlinson 1989). Whereas Taylor and Hegarty (1985) stress diversity in the experiences of South Asian children in British schools.

Although South Asians tended to stay in full-time education longer than other pupils, they experienced like West Indians inequalities of opportunity in the job market. There was differential performance across subject areas and across South Asian sub-groups. Other influences were also important: English language competencies, home-school relations, school factors including teachers expectations, the curriculum and ethos of the school, peer interaction, societal discrimination and racial prejudice. Research has shown how Afro-Caribbean students performed worst in schools, South Asians did less well than whites, but better than Afro-Caribbean students (Craft and

Craft 1983, Dawson 1988, Drew and Gray 1989, Parekh 1986, Roberts 1988).

However, Verma (1987) has pointed out:

> ...there are widely differing linguistic, social, religious and cultural traditions and experiences of the Asian sub-groups (1987:19).

Research (Kysel 1988, Nuttall 1990) has shown that South Asians overall were doing well compared with their local peers, but there was a great deal of difference in the performance of different South Asian groups. Smith and Tomlinson (1989) found that among South Asians in the first year of secondary schooling, Bangladeshi children had the lowest level of initial performance, followed by Pakistanis, then by Indians and other South Asians, with African Asians doing the best, although even they achieved just below the average. In inner city schools, South Asian students with the exception of Bangladeshis again have generally performed better than whites (The Independent 8 March 1990).

Many studies have recognised the stereotypical perceptions, ignorance, prejudice and racism on the part of teachers and professionals (Allen and Smith 1975, Brittan 1976, Coard 1971, Carrington 1983, Driver 1977, Edwards 1978, Green 1972, Mabey 1981, Rutter et al 1979, Tomlinson 1982, Wright 1987). Many of the factors in the literature regarding the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils have been viewed within a pathological perspective in so far as there been a focus on what might be 'wrong with', 'problematic' or 'deviant' about ethnic minority pupils and their backgrounds (Taylor 1988, Taylor and Hegarty 1985, Troyna 1988). Other examples of a pathological perspective have been found by Dawson (1988) and Roberts (1988). Furthermore, many ethnic minority pupils have been over-represented in lower streams and non-examination classes (Figuero 1984, Taylor 1981, Tomlinson 1982).

Research has shown, South Asian parents place high values on education (Bhachu 1985, Brennan and McGeevor 1990, Cropley 1983, Ghuman 1994, Khan 1979, Naipaul 1991, Parekh 1986, Penn and Scattergood 1992, Robinson 1986, Tanna 1990) and strict discipline regarding education (Ghuman 1980, 1994, Ghuman and Gallop 1981). Other researchers (Islamia 1992, Shaikh and Kelly 1989) have found parents are in favour of separate religious schools to reduce distraction for their children. Furthermore, South Asian parents view the speaking of their mother tongue with the utmost concern and would like it to be taught, where possible in the school curriculum (Bhachu 1985, Cohen and Manion 1983, Derrick 1968, 1973, Smith and Tomlinson 1989). It has also been evidenced that many parents have expressed their general satisfaction of the schooling which their youngsters are experiencing (Bhachu 1985, Ghuman 1994, Knight 1988).

In order to examine the opportunities which are substantively available to pupils from different ethnic minority groups, researchers have examined students performance in exams at 16 (Byford and Mortimore 1985, Drew and Gray 1989, Kysel 1988, Nuttall et al 1989). Black young people with educational certification fare significantly better than their black peers with fewer qualifications (Clough and Drew 1985). Despite the proven influence of racism within the labour market (Brown 1984, Hubbuck and Carter 1980, Ohri and Faruqi 1988), exam results can still have a major effect upon the life chances of Afro-Caribbean and South Asian school leavers, as possession of higher grade passes is associated with lower levels of employment for all ethnic groups (Clough and Drew 1985, Craft and Craft 1983). However, most analyses of underachievement have been criticised because they make no allowance for possible variation in the social class composition of different ethnic groups (Reeves and Chevannes 1981, Troyna 1981, 1988).

A body of literature already exists on differences in the academic nature of the subjects which pupils 'choose' according to their social class and/or gender (Ball 1981, Gillborn 1990,

Pratt, Bloomfield and Seale 1984, Reid, Barnett and Rosenberg 1974, Woods 1976). However, very few studies have considered the importance of ethnic origin at this crucial point in pupils' school careers. Research (Smith and Tomlinson 1989, Tomlinson 1987) has shown that ethnic minority pupils tend to appear in option subjects of lower academic status, this is more pronounced for Afro-Caribbean pupils (Gillborn 1990, Green 1985, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Wright 1987).

It is clear that in the 1980's some ethnic minority groups were 'over-represented' in higher education and others were 'under-represented' (Ballard and Vellins 1985, Vellins 1982). The first two years (1990/91), that the University Central Council on Admissions (UCCA) and the Polytechnic Central Admissions System (PCAS), asked applicants to state their ethnic origin showed that, only Bangladeshis and black-others were proportionately less represented than whites in PCAS admissions, though they, black caribbeans and Pakistanis were under-represented in UCCA acceptances (Modood 1993, Taylor 1993). The data from 1992 applicants presented significant diversity in the levels of representation amongst the minority groups even though some continued to speak of a 'black' or ethnic minority under representation (THES Editorial 5 July 1991). Modood and Shiner (1994) argue academic performance is an important part of the explanation of ethnic differences in access to higher education.

In considering ethnic differences in attainment, it should be made clear that ethnicity should not be treated as a disadvantage. Clearly underachievement of specific groups may be related as much to the school and assessment system as to cultural and individual differences (Tanna 1990). Moreover, recent research suggests that the performance of ethnic minority groups may now exceed that of majority groups, for example for three consecutive years in GCSE, evidence has shown that no ethnic group performs worse than the 'white' classification (Sammons 1994, Thomas et al 1992, 1993, 1994).

This section has examined studies which have attempted to investigate the relationship between 'race', ethnicity and education. Very few studies have examined the educational achievements of South Asians and in these studies gender and ethnicity have been neglected. Examining the relationship between gender, ethnicity and education enables us to explore the issue of difference for South Asian women. How do South Asian women perform in education? How do their performance levels affect their participation in the labour market? To what extent does education affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? How has South Asian women's position in education changed in the last ten years? To what extent is education a powerful determinant of patriarchal oppression for South Asian women? Do different levels of education affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to explore the impact of 'race' and gender and its relationship to patriarchal forms of oppression.

CULTURE

This section will examine the concept of culture. The concept of culture is significant when investigating the position of South Asian women within households. To what extent are cultural differences for South Asian women influential upon their lives? Do different ethnic groups have different cultural definitions imposed upon them? It is possible the cultural definitions of the group may affect the position of South Asian women within households. Indeed, the cultural norms of South Asian communities may impose patriarchal standards of behaviour upon women. Each South Asian group may be differentiated by their cultural standards of behaviour. Aspects of culture indicate a significance of difference and diversity for South Asian groups. We need to examine the concept of culture and the influence it has upon the lives of South Asian women. What do we mean by the term culture? How have studies on culture attempted to define the term and what can these studies tell us about the understanding of culture in society? Such questions will enable us to understand the concept of culture and how it

can be used to analyse the workings of different societies.

The term culture itself has been used in many different ways, by many different writers and there is no consensus as to the definition of the term. Early research on the concept of culture, set out to provide a definition of the term.

Parsons and Shils (1951) examined the relationship between interaction and culture. They argued, interaction is responsible for the development of culture on the human level and it further gives culture its significance in the determination of action. Culture is also part of the 'external' environment to which we respond, because of the expectations of others. In this sense, as Kroeber and Kluchkohn (1952) state:

> ...culture is present in persons, shaping their perceptions of events, other persons and the environing situation in ways not wholly determined by biology and by environmental pressure (1952:186).

Other researchers however, have emphasised the symbiotic and transmitive aspects of culture (White 1947), the physical and material aspects of culture (Sorokin 1947), the learned quality of culture (Coon 1954) or the intellectual quality (Bidney 1953). Murdock (1946) classified the qualities or characteristics of culture as: the learned, the transmitive, the social, the ideational, the gratifying, the adaptive and the integrative. People must be able to feed, clothe and house themselves by adapting to their surroundings (Meggers 1954). Culture must also adapt to itself, in the sense that its different aspects are continually changing (Ogburn 1959, Sumner 1906). Linton (1968) incorporated the concept of culture to include the overt (materials and behaviour) and the covert (psychological aspects). It is the overt aspect of culture which is the principal agent in culture transmission. Kannan (1978) has used this definition in reference to immigrant communities.

Other research (Kroeber 1952) has emphasised the importance of the 'trait' in defining culture. Cultures also consists of social values. These are not static, they differ from one society to another and within the same society at different times (Linton 1968). Brown and Selznick (1955) suggest, the socialisation process involves the basic disciplines of society, which includes learning social values and appropriate roles. However, later research (Taylor 1971) defined culture as including folkways, mores and laws which emerge from social interaction and carry a normative content.

Williams (1981) has defined culture as a social collectivity, which refers to the processes, categories and knowledge through which communities are defined as such, how they are rendered specific and differentiated. Further research (Clifford and Marcus 1986, Geertz 1973, 1983) has examined the influence of culture on shaping individual's lives.

In the study of 'race relations', the relationship between 'race' and culture became to be an important issue, where black cultures were regarded as being deviant and judged in comparison to the white norm. Hall (1978) stressed the role of racist representations of social problems such as crime in the emergence of a 'law and order' society, in Britain in the early 1970's. The Empire Strikes Back (CCCS 1982) criticised the pathologisation of 'race' within 'race relations', sociology and the racism of some white feminist analyses (Carby 1982, Parmar 1982). It also explored the importance of racist ideologies in both shaping aspects of state regulation in Britain, such as immigration law and the construction of notions of Britishness and citizenship, informing contemporary definitions of national identity (Hall 1978, Lawrence 1982).

Work carried out by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies has taken a dynamic, structural view of culture by theorising it as lived experience, inextricably linked with 'race', sex and class and only having meaning in the context of

the society in which it occurs. Hence, everyday features of society and behaviour, such as the media, styles of dress and music, as well as what these mean to and for the groups under study, are closely examined. Gilroy (1987) has referred to these as 'black expressive cultures'. Culture is broadened to include the ideas of 'cultures of resistance' rather than being narrow versions of cultural influence (CCCS 1982, Hall and Jefferson 1976, McRobbie 1994). Earlier modes of subculture were transformed and challenged to include an acknowledgement of both the history of ethnic inequality and racism and the struggles for collective self-representations for black people (Gilroy 1987).

However, recently there is emerging a new cultural politics of difference which overlays the older ethnic differences (Donald and Rattansi 1992, Hall 1992), which Hall (1992) has referred to as 'new ethnicities'. Hall (1992) has argued, in the discourses of black cultural production, we are beginning to see constructions of a new conception of identity, a new cultural politics which engages rather than suppresses difference and which depends on the cultural construction of new identities. Furthermore, Rattansi (1992) has argued, in order to move forward in terms of 'race' and culture, we need to acknowledge the political significance of questions of national culture and ethnic identity and to grasp how these interact with questions of 'race' and racism. Other researchers have examined the concept of culture with reference to multiculturalism and education (Donald and Rattansi 1992, Troyna and Carrington 1987).

Many researchers (Brah 1992, Phoenix 1988, Warrier 1988, Westwood and Bhachu 1988) felt studies on black people used a narrow definition of cultural influence to explain their behaviour (Ineichen 1984, Skinner 1986). Such explanations are unsatisfactory because they oversimplify cultural influence and in doing so, serve to reinforce the social construction of black people as deviant from the norms of white British

behaviour.

The concentration on cultural differences between black people and white people has frequently obscured the fact that cultural beliefs, ideas and practices, necessarily embody the structural forces that affect people's lives and that culture itself is dynamic rather than static (Phoenix 1988). Although it is generally thought that 'race' only influences black women (and black men), what it means to be white can only be understood in contradistinction from what it means to be black. White women's lives are thus racially structured as are black women's lives (Frankenberg 1993).

Furthermore, Westwood and Bhahcu (1988) have argued, cultures are understood to be composite entities, generated and sustained by collectivities which promote dynamism and contradictions within the overall social formation. Culture is not viewed as fixed or static, but as multi-faceted, embracing most simply a way of life with specific symbols that define membership and resonate with the lived experiences of people (Khan 1982, Phoenix 1988, Westwood 1984). Rituals add to this, confirming and underlining cultural elements in the common sense world (Westwood 1988).

Phoenix (1988) states, complex (rather than simple) representations of culture need to be used. Such complex definitions encompass structural influences of class, gender and 'race'. This sort of approach allows the representation of differences in style among black and white women. It also takes account of the common experiences that black and white women share as the result of being the same sex and similar class positions (Brah 1992, Phoenix 1988).

More recent research (Donald and Rattansi 1992) has pointed out, the rethinking of culture in the light of theoretical advances and political experience over recent years, has undermined the claims of community understood in terms of a

normative identity and tradition; whether that of nation, religion, ethnicity, or the 'black experience'. Some researchers (Donald and Rattansi 1992, Lynch 1990, Parekh 1989, Verma 1989) state, definitions of culture are either not provided at all or conflate distinct conceptions such as symbolisation, ethnicity and lifestyle.

Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) have examined the concept of culture in relation to citizenship, religion and origin and how these can become racialised as a structuring principle for national processes, by defining both the boundaries of the nation and the constituents of national identity. Much of ethnic culture is organised around rules relating to sexuality, marriage and the family and a true member will perform these roles properly. Communal and cultural boundaries often use differences in the way women are socially constructed as markers. They further argue, there has occurred an increasing ethnicisation of groups, where traditional cultural divisions are often displaced by the growth of more unifying identities.

This section has examined the importance of the term 'culture' and an understanding of studying the differences within cultural experience. Culture is a dynamic and multi-textured entity, it is not a fixed set of characteristics which are used to distinguish the normal from the abnormal. In early research, cultures were dissected and pieces of them offered as a means of understanding minority people's and their lives. Once we dispense with this, and present a material and dynamic account of cultures and ethnicities, we can see the ways in which cultures and ideologies are embedded one with another. It is also possible to move beyond simple unitary views of culture and see differences and complexities that exist within and between ethnic groups.

Since all societies have a plurality of socioeconomic groupings it is inaccurate to describe a country as having one culture. For example, the non-unitary nature of culture is particularly

relevant for India, which is composed of a variety of languages, religions, traditions. To speak of 'Asian' culture is therefore, inaccurate.

There is a need to examine the differences which exist between white and black people's lives and cultures. Furthermore, there is a need to examine the differences which exist within black communities themselves. Individuals from South Asian groups are a diverse group of people. What are the different cultural experiences of South Asian women? How is culture related to forms of patriarchy? Is culture a structure of patriarchy for South Asian women? To what extent do cultural forces dictate the position of South Asian women within society? How is culture related to different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? What is the relationship between culture and other structures of patriarchy? Such questions will enable us to examine the impact of cultural influence for South Asian women and analyse the differences and diversities which exist within the culture.

PATRIARCHY, SEXUALITY AND VIOLENCE

How do sexuality and violence affect women's lives? Are they practices based upon men's control over women? Are they patriarchal structures which subordinate women? How do they affect women's position in society? This section will examine how feminists have attempted to explain the relationship between patriarchy, sexuality and violence.

The idea that sexuality is not simply an individual matter, but one that is bound up with power structures in society is not new to feminist theory, although it is contrary to the assumptions of mainstream political thought. For some writers (Dworkin 1981, Mackinnon 1979) sexuality is a symptom of patriarchal society. Far from being 'natural', sexual behaviour becomes bound up with the idea of ownership, domination and submission, and is conditioned by a man-made culture in which pornography is all pervasive (Dworkin 1981). Sexual violence is

tolerated, women are treated as sex objects and different moral codes exist for men and women. Prostitution becomes a symbol of male power which is a product of patriarchal sexual relationships (Pateman 1988).

For other writers, (Millett 1977) sexuality is not simply one aspect of patriarchal domination, but the main political problem confronting feminists. The problem is seen in the denial of sexual freedom which involves a 'forced heterosexuality' that is inherently oppressive and unsatisfying for women. For others (Rich 1980) sexuality is imposed upon women for the benefit of men, a means of controlling women and ensuring that they serve men domestically and emotionally as well as sexually.

The idea that sexuality is important has been attacked. Segal (1987) argues some feminists are obsessed by phallicism. This is seen as evidence of feminism's narrow bourgeois horizons and its blindness to other forms of oppression. For women struggling for political, economic and physical survival, these questions of sexuality distract energies from the more important issues of economic exploitation and class struggle.

Sexuality and violence are important areas of discussion as symptoms of a patriarchal society in which men have authority over women. However, writings on sexuality and violence have not examined the influence of 'race' and ethnicity. To what extent does the notion of forced heterosexuality exist for South Asian women? How is sexuality linked to the institution of marriage? What is the relationship between sexuality and other structures of patriarchy? Examining these aspects of sexuality will enable us to understand the significance of difference and diversity within households.

RELIGION

Religion is an area of study which has received considerable attention (Barot 1987, Drury 1990, Helweg 1976, Rose 1969,

Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992). Religion plays a significant part in the lives of South Asian women. Although South Asian communities have vast similarities, they are divided by their religious backgrounds. Religion is a powerful force for South Asian women, groups are both defined and differentiated by their religious backgrounds. How does religion shape and structure women's lives? To what extent is religion a powerful force for women? This section will examine writings on religion (Hindu, Sikh and Moslem), and analyse how these have contributed to an understanding of women's relationship to religion and their position in society.

Among the in-comers into the UK of the post-war period, none are more visible than the Sikhs, at least the male sector of the group. They are visible through wearing turbans which cover uncut hair and maintaining full beards, two practices bound up with their faith as Sikhs. The Sikhs are Indian in origin, the members of a minority Indian religion that began as a Hindu sect, part of a religious movement that flourished in the middle ages. The Sikhs are one of three large groups which constitute the bulk of migration during the second half of the twentieth century from the Indian sub-continent (Drury 1990, Helweg 1979), the other two groups were the Gujeratis and Muslims. Ballard and Ballard (1977) have identified four phases of Sikh settlement in Britain.

Organisations have been formed which are designed to maintain Sikh culture in Britain or to promote Sikh culture in the wider community (Dhanjal 1976, Macleod 1976, Rose et al 1969, Singh 1953). The Gurdwara (Sikh Temple), is an important focal point for religious and social gatherings. Divisions of caste play an important role in attendance at the Gurdwara (Kalsi 1992).

Knott (1986, 1987, 1991) has argued the populations of Hindus in the UK has grown considerably. Some authors have examined Hindu communities, their characteristics and religions (Bowen 1981, 1988, Burghart 1987, Jackson 1976, Kantikar and Jackson

1982, Knott 1986, Vertovec 1992). Little attention has been given to British born children in Hindu families, although Logan (1988) has examined Gujerati children in London. The bulk of the Hindu population migrated after the second world war (Burghart 1987). Some were students who intended to practise their professions in Britain (Kantikar 1972). By a process of chain migration, early migrants were joined by male relatives or fellow villagers, the established residents providing accommodation and helping to find work for the new arrivals (Desai 1963, Tambs-Lyche 1980a). The second wave of migration began in the late 1960's. Vertovec (1992) argues there are many differences between Punjabis and Gujeratis and different 'levels' of provenance can become important reference points informing particular social identities and networks.

In tracing the pattern of settlement of Gujeratis and Punjabis, it has often been the case that Gujeratis have moved to areas of cities that already had a Gujerati presence, while Punjabis tended to set up homes near other Punjabis, whether Hindu or Sikh by religion (Sims 1981). Logan (1988) and Macdonald (1987) have shown the presence of women in families has been highly significant in the perpetuation of domestic religious practices. At school, children are not exposed to Hindu religion, but at home they grow up with it. This exposure does not guarantee children's knowledge of the meaning of customary religious practices (Holm 1984, Jackson and Killingley 1988, Larson 1988, Williams 1988). Some studies have examined the Hindu religion in the UK (Bigger 1987, Dwyer 1988, James 1976, Larson 1988, Logan 1988, Michaleson 1984, Pocock 1976, Sharma 1971, Taylor 1976, Thomas 1992, Vertovec 1992). Other research (Williams 1988) has examined South Asian religions in the USA.

Religious practices are an important part of the lives of Hindus and those who have settled in Britain have faced considerable challenges which call for adaption. Some writers (Abramson 1979, Sopher 1967) have argued, the nature of the Hindu religion indicates that complexities of religion and

ethnicity become enmeshed. Studies which have examined temple practice in Britain (Jackson 1981, Knott 1986) note the differences between the way rituals are performed in India and in Britain.

Although large numbers of Muslims did not arrive in Britain until after the second world war, smaller scale migration occurred from the nineteenth century onwards as a result of political, cultural and commercial activities. Approximately three quarters of all Muslims in Britain originated from the Indian sub-continent (Joly 1988, Nielsen 1988, Wahhab 1989). The process of settlement had significant implications for the development of Islamic observance. When women and children came to Britain, Muslim communities began to make an effort to create the structures to permit the full observance of their religion. The process of developing a religious superstructure naturally relates to the pattern and chronology of settlement, thus by the 1980's it was well advanced among Pakistanis who had been in the country for two decades, but the Bangladeshis who were still arriving in substantial numbers in that decade remained much more in a state of transition (Barton 1986, Nielsen 1987).

This resulted in a number of mosques being built in the UK. The acquisition of these prominent and traditionally Islamic buildings have promoted a sense of dignity, stability and coherence during the 1970's and 1980's as well as providing points of symbolic interaction with non-Muslims (Barton 1986, Joly 1988, Nielsen 1988). There is a general injunction to both sexes to observe decency and avoid sexually provocative behaviour, requiring women in particular to dress modestly, generally wearing a head covering and loose unrevealing clothing. This has been linked to the institution of Purdah, the seclusion of women from all men except their husbands and other close relatives. The unacceptability of social contact between the sexes is associated with the practice of arranged marriages, (see the section on Arranged Marriages for a

detailed discussion).

Relatively improved incomes and living conditions enabled all who wished to maintain a significant degree of Purdah to do so and fear of easy-going western attitudes to sex meant that girls were even more assiduously isolated from male contact (Khan 1979, Knott and Khokher 1993, Mirza 1989). Wolffe (1992) has identified four kinds of relationships between Islam and British society: assimilation, isolation, integration and redefinition. Wolffe (1992) argues some middle class Muslims have rapidly adopted secularised western lifestyles and culture. Accordingly, they become alienated from working class Muslims who were more tenacious in holding on to their traditions (Modood 1990). The behaviour of young Muslims has indicated a closer approximation to western attitudes than that existing among their parents. Some younger Muslims however, have been shifting away from the standpoints adopted by their parents not in favour of sexuality or westernisation, but in a turn towards what they see as a legitimate articulation of Muslim principles (Mirza 1989, Nielsen 1983).

Islam provides a fascinating example of how ethnicity, community and gender can collide in strange and unexpected ways. The maintenance of a static notion of community requires an ideology, particularly in the face of a dominant culture which may at times appear to offer more rewards, than continued and total allegiance to the community. Islam can provide intellectual strength and collusion to that ideology, which Ali (1992) has referred to as 'ethnicism'.

Some writers have used the term 'fundamentalism' to describe certain religious beliefs, such as Islam (Connolly 1991, Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992, Siddiqui 1991). Women affect, and are affected by, ethnic and national processes in several major ways. Some of these are central to the project of fundamentalism which attempts to impose its own unitary religious definition on the grouping and its symbolic order.

The 'proper' behaviour of women is used to signify the difference between those who belong and those who do not. Women are also seen as the 'cultural carriers' of the group (Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992), who transmit group culture to the future generation and proper control in terms of marriage and divorce (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989). It is therefore, no coincidence that the control of women and the patriarchal family are central features of fundamentalism and often seen as the panacea for all social ills (Marsden 1980). Others have argued women collude, seek comfort and even at times gain a sense of empowerment within the spaces allocated to them by fundamentalist movements (Ali 1992, Foster 1992, Maitland 1992, Yuval-Davis 1992).

Being active in a religious movement allows women a legitimate place in a public sphere which otherwise might be blocked to them. For women of racial and ethnic minorities, it can also provide the means by which to defend themselves as well as to defy the hegemonic racist culture.

For women there is an absence of power and status in visible hierarchies in many religions. A cross-cultural historical study of the role and status of women in different religious traditions shows that the less differentiated religion and society are, the greater is the participation of women (Carmody 1979). Traditionally, most religions have excluded women from advanced learning and teaching (King 1987). It has been said that religions are the most important source for shaping and enforcing the image and role of women in culture and society. One must ask, which images of woman a particular religion has created and handed down from generation to generation and how far these are beset with inherent contradictions. The images of women in the religions of classical antiquity have been closely examined (Cameron and Kuhrt 1983, Pomeroy 1984) and an increasing amount of work is being carried out on women in non-western traditions, such as India (Jackson and Wadley 1977, Leslie 1988).

There is a marked tendency towards diversification and variety, the religious constituency and complexity of Britain in the last decade of the twentieth century is much more varied and multi-faceted than that of the period following the end of the second world war. Religious life in Britain has become more complicated and Britain has now become a fundamentally plural society (Davie 1990).

Women's experience does not show a uniform development or pattern as conditions of life, age, social class, ethnicity, religion and culture vary widely and make the lives of individual women or different groups of women very disparate. Each culture also knows widely differing myths, models and symbols relating to women. Religion has clearly shown to be an influential factor in the lives of women, it helps to shape and structure their lives and may have a powerful effect upon their roles as women. Although the research has examined the meaning of religion and provided an understanding of its practices, it has not specifically investigated how religion can influence women's lives in terms of patriarchy. If women are members of different religious groups, to what extent do they experience different forms of patriarchy? To what extent does religion play a significant part in the lives of South Asian women? Is religion beneficial for South Asian women or is it a patriarchal structure which oppresses and subordinates them? How can religion help us to explain different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Such questions will enable us to examine the influence of diversity in religion and how it affects and divides women's lives within a patriarchal structure.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an extensive literature review on the themes and questions the thesis addresses. It has examined previous writings on; the study of gender, 'race' and ethnicity, gender, 'race' and ethnicity; patriarchy, patriarchy

and the family, domestic labour, domestic finance, the South Asian family, marriage, arranged marriages and dowries; employment, gender and ethnicity, households and married women's employment, South Asian households; the welfare state, gender and education, education, 'race' and ethnicity, culture, patriarchy, sexuality and violence and religion.

Although the studies have provided sophisticated explanations of women's position within society, many studies have not attempted to investigate the position of South Asian women within society. It is important to examine the influence of difference and diversity in women's lives, to explore the meanings South Asian women give to their lives and to explain the forms of patriarchy they experience. To what extent do South Asian women experience patriarchy in their lives? What are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

The following chapter will provide an outline of the methodology. It will begin by discussing the different methodological options that were available: comparison and types of methods and discuss the methods employed in the study. The chapter will then go on to discuss sample size and sampling frame and how my structural position as a South Asian woman influenced the research. This will include the influence of 'race', gender, status and questions of access, personal experience, the 'presentation of self' and issues of power. Finally the chapter will examine how my use of a feminist methodology was implicated in the study.

3
Methodology

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will summarise the research question, examine the range of methodological options available to the study, discuss reasons for adopting some and rejecting others and give an account of the methods used in the research project. It will then discuss the use of a feminist methodology in conducting the research. It will reflect upon the ways in which my structural position, as a South Asian middle class woman, influenced the research process and affected problems of access, the 'presentation of self', the influence of personal experience and issues of power. It will be argued that collaborative, qualitative forms of research may be a preferable way of conducting research incorporating a feminist methodology, whilst at the same time, issues of 'race', power and status may affect and make us question what a feminist methodology includes.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question examines the intersection of gender and ethnicity with specific reference to South Asian women in Britain. It investigates the dynamics of gender relations within households, in order to explore the differences that exist amongst South Asian women focusing on: arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour, domestic finance, education, employment and religion.

The main question is: what are the different forms of patriarchy that exist in South Asian communities in Britain, in particular East London? Related questions include: what influences forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? What influences the position of South Asian women within households?

The research attempts to develop existing theories of patriarchy (Walby 1990) which argues there is a continuum between two forms of patriarchy (private and public). As South Asian women have different cultural experiences to white women,

(they have arranged marriages and are given dowries), it is assumed forms of patriarchy that exist for South Asian women in Britain will be different to forms of patriarchy that exist for white women in Britain. Do existing theories of patriarchy apply to South Asian communities in Britain? Do private and public forms of patriarchy exist for South Asian women in Britain?

METHODOLOGICAL OPTIONS

Sixty in-depth interviews were carried out with South Asian women living in East London, as well as participant observation, which included living with a South Asian community for a period of six months.

Comparison

In order to examine whether forms of patriarchy experienced by white women are similar to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women, it may be necessary to make a comparison examining the differences and similarities, (forms and definitions of patriarchy), between both groups.

One direct line of comparison was the possibility of considering previous literature on white western households and comparing it to my research. There was also the possibility of interviewing white western women and making a direct comparison with South Asian women. Previous literature has already investigated gender relations for white women in society. This literature has provided us with vast quantities of information concerning the position and subordination of white women in households and society. Although much research has examined ethnic relations and has acknowledged that people of ethnic origins experience a different set of social relations compared to white members of society, this literature has not specifically investigated South Asian women and their subordination in households in terms of patriarchy. The aim was to give South Asian women exclusive attention, as one group that has been neglected in sociological research and so a

direct comparison with white women was rejected.

Interviewing a sample of South Asian women in India and making a direct comparison with South Asian women in Britain was considered, in order to analyse the different social situations of women. What difference does it make to forms of patriarchy South Asian women experience, if they live in a society which is predominantly South Asian or predominantly white? However, it was problematic to match subjects directly, the social and economic circumstances of women in India are entirely different to those of South Asian women in Britain. Also South Asian women in India may have been unwilling to speak to a western South Asian woman. Problems of access and identity would be apparent.

Making a comparison with first and second generation South Asian women was also considered. The situation of first generation women is different to that of second generation women: they have been born in India, were more likely to have had an arranged marriage, would not have been educated in Britain and may not necessarily be employed. What difference would this make to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? This proved to be problematic as access to second generation women was extremely difficult. They did not welcome the opportunity to speak to a young, westernised, educated woman and regarded my actions as being disrespectful towards themselves and the South Asian community.

Interviewing a sample of South Asian men and South Asian women was also considered, in order to make a direct comparison of time spent on household labour and differing attitudes towards arranged marriages, dowries and domestic finance. How did men's attitudes on arranged marriages compare to women's attitudes? How does this affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Similar questions were asked to both groups in a pilot study. This demonstrated the difficulties involved when a South Asian woman conducts research on South Asian men. South

Asian men did not take me, (a young, educated South Asian woman), seriously, played 'sexual games' with me and were patronising.

All the above options were considered and investigated in the pilot stage. A comparison with white women was rejected as many studies have already investigated the position of white women and the forms of patriarchy they experience. Making a direct comparison with South Asian women in India and South Asian women in Britain was rejected as the social and economic circumstances of South Asian women in India are different to those of South Asian women in Britain. Making a comparison with first and second generation South Asian women was rejected due to the difficulty of interviewing second generation South Asian women. Finally, making a comparison with a sample of South Asian men and South Asian women was rejected as there were many difficulties in interviewing South Asian men. The conclusion was to focus exclusively on South Asian women and examine their position within households, the forms of patriarchy they experience, the meanings they give to their lives and to investigate differences within this group.

Type Of Method

Which was the best method to use for the study, to capture the meanings South Asian women gave to their lives? The following were considered:

The survey and questionnaire method were dismissed at an early stage in the research, as I felt the depth and meaning of South Asian women's lives would not be captured in this type of method. A highly structured questionnaire, offering fixed choices to the respondents, gives little guidance to the subject's perceptions and feelings and thus, the contradictions and subtleties of women's experiences are lost.

Focus groups were considered as an addition to conducting interviews. This involved a group of South Asian women from

similar backgrounds in which certain topics, concentrating directly on the research question, were suggested for discussion. However this proved to be difficult, as many women were reticent and felt uncomfortable discussing personal aspects of their lives, (arranged marriages, dowries), with strangers. There was no one to one contact and interaction, in which the confidence of the respondents could be gained. I felt interviewing women alone, (rather than in a group), would encourage them to trust and confide in me, open up and speak about their experiences and recognise that their views were being heard.

THE METHODS EMPLOYED

Quantitative and Qualitative Data

Which were the best methods to use for the research? I wanted my methods to be sensitive enough to allow the categories of analysis to emerge from the data and to use methods which would allow me to investigate the varying significance of difference, through which women experienced patriarchy. At the same time I wanted to present accurate information regarding the numbers of women who experienced different forms of patriarchy and test for the strength of associations between different influences of patriarchy.

Hence, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods were used in the study. Qualitative data is defined as a process used to make sense of data that are represented by words or pictures and not by numbers (Snyder 1992). The processes of qualitative research include ways of conceptualising, collecting, analysing and interpreting data. The use of qualitative data enables researchers to gain insight into the lives of respondents and the meanings they give to their experiences. Field notes, tape-recorded interviews and transcripts can provide a wealth of information. As a result, researchers are able to come to a deeper understanding of a particular research topic and capture the overall context and underlying mechanisms behind predicted events.

However, the use of quantitative research allows the researcher to describe the characteristics of a population, as well as model statistically, events and processes occurring within the population. The researchers can then argue for reliability and generalisability. Depending upon the research question, qualitative and quantitative methods can be complimentary.

The combined methods of qualitative and quantitative methods were an appropriate means by which to capture the complexity of South Asian women's lives and to explain the forms of patriarchy they experienced. Qualitative methods were suited to capture meanings, interpretations and subjective experiences of individual women in examining interactions, dynamics and contexts. They were used to provide a number of possible explanations for the quantitative results. The women were able to discuss their experiences in their own language (Punjabi) and their own natural setting. Quantitative methods included a simple analysis of data, examining the relationships between influences of patriarchy (religion, education and employment), in order to test for significance. I was able to answer my research questions in ways that built upon the strengths of both approaches.

SAMPLE SIZE

A very specific group of South Asian women were investigated. South Asian was defined as those whose forefathers and foremothers had originated from the Indian sub-continent: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The ages of the women ranged from 25-30 years and they had all been born in the UK. I wanted all women to be in the same age range; as these women were second generation women, were born and educated in Britain, would be in a form of employment and may already have had an arranged marriage (the typical age for Moslem women to have an arranged marriage is 19-20 and for Hindu and Sikh women is around 24). Three groups were investigated to examine the impact of religious difference: women who defined themselves as Hindu, Sikh and Moslem. Twenty women from each religious group

were interviewed to examine, the impact of religion on forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? A total of 60 in-depth interviews were carried out with South Asian women living in East London. Sixty was a large enough number in order to make generalisations for the quantitative analysis, yet small enough to conduct detailed in-depth interviews and transcribe the data for the qualitative analysis. East London was taken as a specific area to be investigated as it includes a very high population of South Asians from all three religious backgrounds.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

As a South Asian woman, I have lived in the South Asian community all of my life. I became a participant observer to gain further information about the realities of South Asian women's lives. This included participating in cultural and community functions, assisting in temple work, (cleaning and cooking in the temple with other South Asian females), and participating in religious and traditional festivals (weddings, Diwali). An overt role was taken in which I negotiated my access and participation with community leaders. Being a participant observer produced interesting data concerning cultural aspects of South Asian society: rituals, traditions and customs which added depth and richness to the study and helped gain a greater understanding of South Asian women's lives.

SAMPLING FRAME

South Asian women are a very difficult group to study, based on their cultural definitions and strong views regarding male and female roles within their communities. They are a very close knit group who have and portray a very strong, cohesive sense of belonging and security. Their cultural identity is reinforced and regarded as essential to the well-being of the community, culture and individuals. Outsiders who do not identify with the group are viewed with suspicion and seen as a threat. Members of the community question what the outsiders

want and how they may affect the daily lives of the individuals who live in the culture.

OPTIONS

Random door knocking was rejected as this provoked resistance, and was regarded as being highly suspicious and intrusive. This was investigated in the pilot study, many women were not interested in the research and felt their privacy was being invaded. They felt I was 'overstepping the mark' and 'should have known better', than to knock on South Asian people's doors and ask them to be interviewed.

Doctor's Surgery Lists involved going to an area where there was a high population of South Asians and obtaining names and addresses. Actually obtaining the information from the surgery was problematic, trying to identify the religious background of respondents by their South Asian names. Some doctors did not want me to use their lists and said they wanted to protect the privacy of their patients. They did not see the study as having a 'medical element' and so refused to cooperate.

Names from Telephone Directories were examined from a specific area where there was a high population of South Asians. However, there was some difficulty in guessing the religious background of respondents from the names and many South Asian families did not appreciate a strange woman telephoning their home and asking to enter their private domain, in order to carry out research. Many women were angry and wondered where I obtained their telephone numbers from. They felt I was a member of an official organisation, (The Social Services), and did not want to cooperate. This method is highly questionable as not everyone has a telephone and the sample may be biased because of this.

Nursery and School Registers were also considered, where the names of children were to be used as a basis to conduct the interviews. However, schools were reluctant for a research

student to examine their registers and said the research was not directly concerned with 'educational issues'. Also the aim was to interview South Asian women who were both married and single, including those who had children and those who did not. If this method of sampling was used, the study would be biased as it would only focus on South Asian women with children.

The Electoral Register was another possibility, examining South Asian names from a particular area. However, once the names and addresses were obtained and respondents were approached, they were highly suspicious of my intentions. They refused to participate and regarded the research as 'political'. Moreover, many people are not registered on the electoral register and so this may be a biased sample. This method was also rejected.

There is no obvious sampling frame of South Asian women. The sampling method used was that of the snowball sample. Once I had made the initial contact with a few women, other women were recommended to be interviewed. The respondents were easily accessible as they had already spoken to someone who had participated in the research and I had less chance of being viewed as suspicious. The respondents respected me and felt comfortable, secure and safe that I had entered the homes of other South Asian women they were acquainted with. Other women were contacted through advertisements placed at the local university and in the local student paper to prompt respondents to contact me. Hence, in order to avoid a biased and skewed sample, two starting points of snowball sampling were used.

In snowball sampling the researcher has no control over the nature of the sample. There is always the danger that the sample will be heavily skewed in favour of particular types of women. I tried to overcome this by using different starting points from which to contact my respondents. On the one hand, the sample may be unrepresentative as it is a snowball sample. On the other, the sample can claim to be representative as different starting points were used to encourage women to

participate and there was a different spread of contacting respondents.

FEMINIST METHODOLOGIES

In carrying out my research, I have been guided by my understanding of feminist methodologies. Whilst most writers on feminist methodological issues agree there is no one method that can be termed the feminist methodology, certain characteristics can be drawn out (Cook and Fonow 1990, Harding 1987, Reinharz 1983, Smith 1987, Stanley and Wise 1983). There is not necessarily one feminist methodology, but many different feminist methodologies. Feminist critiques point to a male bias within sociology which structure the knowledge base of the discipline and the social relations of production. It is argued, gender bias is introduced through the theoretical frameworks and methods by which empirical investigations are conducted. However, feminist research methodology has certain principles which are considered to be of importance at all stages of research. First, women's lives need to be addressed in their own terms. Second feminist research should not just be on women but for women, to provide for women explanations of their lives which can be used to improve their situation, research should have emancipatory potential. Third, a feminist methodology involves putting the researcher into the process of production, the researchers can make explicit the reasoning procedures they utilised in carrying out the research and be self-reflexive about their own perceptions and biases which they bring to the research.

A non-hierarchial relationship can also be established in the research process. In order to understand the research subject, we can examine the notion of personal and subjective experiences. This involves being reflexive; putting ourselves in the position of the subject and understanding their perspective. We may also examine how we as researchers and feminists are able to represent reality as objectively as possible. It is important that researchers are critical in

their own research project, in order to produce a more objective account of what they 'see'. Researchers can aim to locate themselves within a specific critical paradigm, from which to base their judgements and come to their conclusions. Here the participatory model of research is useful, it aims to produce non-hierarchial, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative research relationships (Reinharz 1983).

Acker (1983) argues, we should locate individual experience in society and history, embedded within a set of social relations which produce both the possibilities and limitations of that experience. This is a method for exploration and discovery, a way to begin to search for understandings that may contribute to the goals of liberation, by gender being understood as being the central focus in constructing all social relations and taking individual women's lives as problematic.

Within feminist methodologies the debate between quantitative and qualitative methods includes the claim that; quantitative research techniques, involving the translation of individual's experiences into categories predefined by researchers, may distort women's experiences and result in a silencing of women's own voices. Advocates of qualitative methods have argued that individual women's understandings, emotions and actions in the world can be explored in women's own terms. Jayaratne and Stewart (1990) argue, much of the feminist debate about qualitative and quantitative research has been sterile and based on a false polarisation and the solutions offered for methodological problems have frequently been either too general or too constraining to be realistically incorporated into research activity.

Feminist methodological considerations do not automatically advocate the use of particular or 'appropriate' methods, but many feminist writers have used qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews or ethnography in relation to feminist research (Devault 1990, Finch 1984, Oakley 1981). Other

feminist writers have reclaimed quantitative methods for feminist research (Jayaratne and Stewart 1990).

In the present research I have aimed to incorporate the ideas of a feminist methodology: non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, non-manipulative and aiming to empower women. This has enabled me to examine and question the differences and similarities, (gender, 'race' and educational status), which exist between the researcher and the researched and how this affects access, the 'presentation of self', the influence of personal experience and issues of power.

THE METHOD

The study was qualitative and quantitative in style. In-depth interviews which consisted of a set of structured and unstructured questions were carried out with respondents in their own homes (see Appendix 2 for outline of Interview Schedule), as well as participant observation which consisted of living with a South Asian community for six months.

The aim was to build up a detailed knowledge of the women's lives; their feelings towards their own roles and what they actually did in the home, their attitudes towards arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour and domestic finance. As the researcher, I faced the problem of reconciling the discrepancies of differing accounts of participants. For example, there may be a discrepancy between what a woman actually does in the household and what she thinks she does, this in turn may differ from what the culture expects her to do. Finally what she is prepared to admit to an interviewer, may also differ, as will what the interviewer perceives to be important enough to report in the study. There are also likely to be further discrepancies of the accounts women give of their partner's behaviour, (participation in domestic tasks), accounts which are likely to consist of a mix of facts, expressions of opinion and implicit and explicit value judgements.

Ten pilot interviews were carried out to explore the relevance, sensitivity and wording of the questions. Pilot interviews were also carried out with South Asian men. A total of sixty interviews were conducted with South Asian women. Ten interviews were conducted in Punjabi and all others in English.

Given the sensitivity of the topic, the group being studied and the demanding nature of the interviews, I felt the potential respondents should receive warning in the form of a letter and a telephone call prior to entering their homes.

Before the interview process itself had started, instructions were read out to the respondents where they were told, at any time during the interview they could stop, and if there were any questions they did not feel comfortable with, they could refuse to answer. The assurance of anonymity and confidentiality was emphasised more than once during the interview process. Respondents were also asked if they wanted to see copies of the results of the interviews. After each interview had been completed, each respondent was sent an individual letter, thanking them for their cooperation and participation in the research project.

The same questions were asked of all respondents in order to obtain comparable data, but the significance of the answers they gave and the contexts in which they answered were not comparable. Each woman was interviewed alone, at a time convenient to her in her own home. Married women with children chose to be interviewed during the day, as their husbands and children were not present. Many women did not want to be interviewed when their husbands were present, as they felt they would be unable to express their personal feelings and beliefs.

Many studies of marriage and family life are based on interviews with one spouse or one family member, usually the wife since she is more likely to be at home and amenable to being interviewed. The predominance of this approach has given

rise to the criticism that family sociology would be better described as 'wives' family sociology in which only 'her' marriage would be bought out in such a study (Safilios-Rothschild 1969).

The interviews took place over a period of one year. There was a long delay in many cases between contacting a woman and completing an interview with her. Some women had completely forgotten that I had arranged an interview date with them, and when I arrived, 'did not feel like' being interviewed. This was extremely frustrating, as I had, (on most occasions), travelled for over two hours and had prepared myself for the interview, (emotionally, physically and intellectually). This involved arranging a new time, which was usually over a week away.

I set up the interviews to explore the research questions and to be topically guided, yet informal in style and tone and in some respects conversational and free flowing. I encouraged respondents to discuss what they perceived as the important dimensions of these issues and to do so, in the language and categories, they deemed meaningful. I wanted to approximate as much as possible a chat between friends.

Due to the instrumental task at hand, however, most visible through the questions, the interviews were different from pure conversations, they were 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess 1984). The flexibility of the interviews facilitated the emergence of new and unanticipated data and overall, a diverse range of information was collected.

The interviews were tape-recorded, with the exception of five. The interview tapes were deleted once they had been transcribed, this was an agreed contract with the respondents, to protect their anonymity. Interviews that are tape-recorded give the respondent an opportunity to initiate new lines of enquiry and to challenge the researcher's definition of the situation. However, a change in the women's behaviour was noted

once the tape-recorder had been switched off:

> "Oh good, I can relax now that thing has been switched off." (19).[4]

I sought to preserve as much of the interview situation in the transcripts as possible, including such speech events as respondent's false starts, repetitions and non-verbal expressions such as laughing and getting emotional. There is no one method for investigating speech and individuals usually decide on the basis of some (often implicit), theory of speech and what set of conventions to use in the creation of transcripts.

The traditional approach to the inclusion of respondent's speech within the text is to polish the speech, for example by omitting repetition and translating slang into standard English, so that it reads more smoothly than ordinary speech. Whilst I have omitted repetition in participant's speech, I have chosen to reflect the language of the women who participated. As Devault (1990) notes, it is through such translation processes that women's words are often distorted. Language itself reflects male experiences and its categories are often incongruent with women's lives. Devault's understanding of what it means to talk or listen 'as a woman', is based on the concept, 'women's standpoint'. Devault (1990) argues, part of women's lives disappear because they are not included in the language of the account. In order to 'recover' these parts of women's lives, researchers can develop methods for listening around and beyond words. We can analyse more specifically the ways in which interviewers use personal experience as a resource for listening. Feminist research can be conscious of listening as a process and work on learning to listen in ways that are personal, disciplined and sensitive to

[4] The respondents were labelled by an identification number. A table containing the background information of respondents is provided in the Appendix. This includes their identification number, age, occupation, marital status and highest qualification.

differences.

The quantitative data was analysed using the SPSS software package and the qualitative data was analysed using the traditional paper and paste method. Although the categories of the research provided broad topics for initial coding, the interview data elaborated on the general codes, adding greater specificity to them. New codes were developed as unanticipated topics emerged from the interview data. Once the data were coded, comparisons were made between interviews. I gave attention to similarities and differences among key topics, as well as interpretations of particular events. Observations from the field notes (participant observation), provided a contextual background for interpreting the interview data. Qualitative data can inductively generate new theories or inform existing theories.

'WOMAN TO WOMAN' INTERVIEWING - THE INFLUENCE OF 'RACE'

My structural position as a South Asian middle class, educated woman affected my research and has enabled me to examine the many *faceted complexities of the dynamics involved in 'woman* to woman' interviewing. The feminist approach to interviewing which is exemplified in the work of Oakley (1981) argues, the research process includes statements and discourses about one's own experiences with the phenomena under question. The goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when:

> ...the relationship of the interviewer and the interviewee is non-hierarchial and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship. (1981:41)

This is also supported by Finch (1984) who argues, women more so than men are used to accepting intrusions into the more private parts of their lives. In the setting of the interviewee's own home, an interview conducted in an informal way by another woman can easily take on the character of an

intimate conversation.

Devault (1990) has argued, a feminist sociology can open up standard topics from the descriptive, building more from what we share with respondents as women, than from disciplinary categories that we bring to research encounters:

> ...women interviewing women bring to their interaction a tradition of 'woman talk', they help each other develop ideas and are typically better prepared than men to use the interview as a 'search procedure'. (1990:101)

I felt women were able to open up, trust and confide in me, which allowed them to reveal very personal and intimate details of their lives, for example the abusive behaviour of their mothers-in-law. The same information may not have been obtained, if the research was carried out by a South Asian male.

However, Brah (1992) states:

> No matter how often the concept is exposed as vacuous, 'race' still acts as an apparently ineradicable marker of social difference. (1992:126)

Gender may not be enough to create the shared meanings which are necessary to understand the experiences of women's lives. Is it possible a white, middle class woman carrying out research within a black working class community may create a situation where there are barriers to understanding? Each individual woman has different cultural experiences. The lack of shared norms about how an interview is organised and unfamiliar cultural themes in the context of the interview creates barriers to understanding:

> Gender congruity is not enough to overcome ethnic incongruity, the bond between the woman interviewer and the woman interviewee is insufficient to create the shared meanings that could transcend the divisions between them. (Riessman 1987:190)

'Race' infuses itself into the research process and into the interview situation in much the same way that it has been argued that a feminist methodology should do and that shared gender or sex does. 'Race' is a variable that assists both the researcher and the researched to place each other within the social structure and so can have bearings on the relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Amos and Parmar (1981) indicate, the inclusion of black people in white studies:

> ..serves only to add cross-cultural spice to predominantly ethnocentric work. (1981:129)

The question is, should we 'encourage' white researchers to carry out research on black communities? Barrett and Macintosh (1985) assert:

> We do still believe that white women are not the best placed to tackle these specific matters. (1985:42)

Similarly, Carby (1982) argues when white researchers carry out research on black people, they operate within white western supremacist assumptions. She states:

> Instead of taking black people as the objects of their research, white feminist researchers should try to uncover the gender-specific mechanisms of racism amongst white women. (1982:232)

'Race' is an analytical tool for investigating and understanding the differences among women. 'Race' is a gendered social category (Liu 1991).

Mies (1991) however argues, the concept of 'partial identification' is important, that we proceed from our own contradictory state of being and consciousness. This enables recognition of that which binds us to the 'other women' as well

as that which separates us from them. Binding us are the experiences of women all over the world, of repression, sexism and exploitation. 'Partial identification' means we also recognise that which separates us, such as forms of oppression that might be rooted in such traits as skin colour, language and education. In these appearances, we see a manifestation of the power relations according to which the whole of society is structured. So 'partial identification' which begins with a double consciousness means, that as researchers we are aware of the structures within which we live and work.

South Asian women who welcomed the opportunity to speak to me enabled this 'partial identification' to surface. I was able to see reality through the eyes of other South Asian women and share a sense of belonging and empathy. If a South Asian woman is able to get another South Asian woman to speak about her life, they not only have 'shared experience', 'shared empathy', but also 'shared identity'.

Issues of difference such as sexuality, class, age, caste, linguistic heritage as well as nationality may operate to set up both commonalities and differences (Ribbens 1989, Stanley 1991). Feminist analysis has also showed that women's lives as subjective experiences were also influenced by other competing identities such as 'race', ethnicity and class, (hooks 1982, Phillips 1992). Simple notions of women as a homogenous group who shared a common experience of oppression gave way to an awareness of the complexity of the material reality of women's lived lives. Acceptance of the need to critically engage with meanings of difference and diversity within feminist thinking (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, Spellman 1990), created the need to question what difference and diversity meant within feminist research.

ACCESS

One of the most difficult parts of the research was finding women to interview. Some women were highly suspicious of my

motives, they regarded me as some kind of 'secret investigator', and wanted to know what I intended doing with my tape-recorded information. One South Asian woman regarded me as a 'nosey girl', who had nothing better to do except, 'listen to the private lives of respectable women'. I was told, 'it's none of your business to know what goes on behind closed doors'.

Having been bought up in a close extended family network and strong cultural background, my experience as a South Asian woman prepared me for a certain sense of traditional stereotyping regarding the definition of roles. As I was questioning this 'taken for granted' division, some respondents showed a general lack of respect for me, because they were confronted by a young so-called 'educated' South Asian woman. One woman began mocking me and became highly offensive.

> "At the end of the day, men do their work and we do ours, including you, even if you are studying for a Phd." (41)

My major decision was to avoid any conflict and confrontation between the respondents and myself. I tried not to become involved and voice my opinions, yet at times it was very tempting to do so.

The majority of women however, were extremely friendly and welcomed me into their homes. They were glad to assist me and have someone take an interest in their lives, who was willing to listen at great length on an aspect of their life they felt was 'highly trivial and unimportant'. The interview situation made them feel valued.

As the women themselves were able to empathise and identify with me, they expected me to automatically understand their situation.

> "You should know what I mean being an Asian woman." (6)

Many women were quite amused I was spending valuable time

conducting research on questions to which they felt all the answers were obvious.

> "That's a funny question to ask...you probably know Asian men don't lift a finger in the kitchen." (44)

It was intended interviews would be conducted in private, however on many occasions husbands were frequently interrupting the interview situation. This made me feel uncomfortable, as if I was under constant surveillance. The sole reason for interviewing women alone was to produce data independently, so that women would not be influenced in any answers they gave. Some women had to stop the interview to cook their husbands their evening meal and in some cases mothers-in-law were present. Other women conducted interviews whilst ironing or cooking, as they were too busy to stop, there was also the regular interruption from screaming children.

In using the interview method, this brings us to questions of 'real research'. Are the respondents telling the 'truth' and can we rely solely on verbal reports? It is possible respondents may want to be portrayed in a certain way and hence provide 'socially desirable' answers. As the interview technique allows for flexibility, this may leave room for bias and personal influence in which the lack of standardisation in the data collection process makes interviewees highly vulnerable to the bias of the interviewer. Sometimes cues may be given which may influence the respondent's answers. Even if verbal cues are avoided, forms of non-verbal communication may exist over which the interviewer may have no control. It is impossible to achieve complete objectivity and it should perhaps be mandatory that researchers state their biases, in order that their work can be better interpreted and understood.

The notion of access was extremely difficult. Problems of access were concerned with the difficulty of the group being studied. Such problems and questions help us to think whether

we should be conducting research and understand the reasons why there are so few research projects in this area. My identity as a South Asian woman enabled me to gain access into the private homes of South Asian women, speak their language and empathise with them.

Cultural identification, membership and recognition within the research process is important, it enables respondents to feel some kind of bond, belongingness and identity with the researcher. Respondents may portray a higher degree of respect to someone with whom they can empathise. This in turn, may help to produce data that is highly valuable to sociological understanding.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

In my own research, my personal experiences were affecting my views of my respondents. As a South Asian woman, I felt their lives mirrored those lives of South Asian women I myself had close contact with: sisters, aunts and my mother. I began to question to what extent the lives of these women were different to the lives of my relatives and how their lives were different to my own? In being too close and familiar with the subject matter, there is a possibility that certain aspects may be overlooked. Alternatively respondents may be aware of our knowledge of the subject matter and may withhold information they see as too obvious in the light of a 'shared reality'. When the researcher and the researched operate from shared realities, there may be a tendency to take too much for granted. Researchers may overlook certain aspects of participant's realities, because of presumed familiarity with those realities. Familiarity with the phenomena under study therefore risks blindness to certain details that may be important. As researchers, issues of 'over-rapport' are apparent. Striking an adequate balance between rapport and distance may overcome this, by being able to 'manufacture distance' (McCracken 1988), to create a crucial awareness of matters with which we may have blinding familiarity. This

advice takes on added importance when the issues are highly private and personal.

The notion of establishing a 'pretence awareness context', that portrays a message of not knowing or pretending not to know what the informant is talking about, is one possible strategy. Simmel's (1950) discussion of the 'stranger' accounts for intimate disclosures. Furthermore, playing the role of the objective stranger incorporates a structured balance between 'distance and nearness, indifference and involvement'. The implications of this for insiders is clear; to use the nearness and involvement afforded by shared experiences to gain access and establish trust, but maintain whenever possible the distance and mystery of the 'stranger', in order to encourage a full account of the participant's experience.

Being too close to the subject matter may threaten the objectivity and attachment that typically are thought to be necessary to make research 'good science'. Although the history of qualitative research is filled with examples of researchers examining aspects of the empirical world with which they have personal experience (Becker 1963), little attention has been paid to the methodological implications of this research role. More attention has been directed to problems associated with researchers being outsiders who must maintain marginal positions with those under scrutiny.

Is the research we do as social researchers the research that we describe or the research that is experienced by the researched? It is what we see and who we are that contributes to the end product.

The researchers own experiences are an integral part of the research and should therefore be described as such.

Questions concerning personal experiences, perceptions and interpretations enter into the data and it is important for the

researcher to identify and understand the relationship between the personal agenda and the research agenda. The research agenda may be nourished by the personal agenda in ways that will enhance sensitivity to what is being researched and generate insight into the issues of the research itself. When conducting research into sensitive areas, it is important to focus on the research goal, to understand how participants assign meaning to their realities, rather than to evaluate their realities through our own responses and opinions. Reflection on personal issues such as our own gender socialisation, our cultural and racial identity and expectations we have of our own family members may affect the research, in ways that we are unconsciously aware of. For insiders, past-related experiences are essential parts of the research process and they demand not just acknowledgement, but conscious and deliberate inclusion.

THE 'PRESENTATION OF SELF'

The research situation requires the researcher to reflect on her behaviour, mode of conduct and dress. The 'presentation of self' includes statements and discourses about one's experiences with the phenomena in question. For example what type of role should we take in the research project: covert or overt? Should we tell our respondents who we are and what we are doing or should we aim to distance ourselves from this? The researcher decides how to present her motives, how much to participate and how intensely she will become involved in participant families lives.

For my own research, the following issues were apparent and had to be considered; the appropriate traditional mode of South Asian dress (salwar, camise), hair in the traditional, appropriate fashion, indian ornaments (dhikka) and wearing a wedding ring. Although my identity as a South Asian woman enabled me to gain access, I had to dress in order to be accepted in the community. It was inappropriate to conduct my research in jeans and a t-shirt, since this would be regarded

as insulting. As Shaffir (1980) argues:

> ...the intensity of the fieldwork process is typically accompanied by a psychological anxiety resulting in a continuous presentation and management of self when in the presence of those studied. (1980:4)

As researchers, the 'presentation of self' is a mode of communication to the respondents and affects the responses we may receive.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

My educational status was a source of difference between myself and my respondents. Because I was educated I was seen as being privileged, someone who had it easy.

> "It's different for people like you, people like you have it easy, you're lucky to get educated." (42)

Some women said they were afraid I was going to ask them 'hard', 'intellectual' questions and were quite relieved to find the interview was like a 'conversation'.

A few women saw me as 'an Asian girl made good' and said:

> "You're parents must be proud of you, having achieved so much." (58)

Age was also an indicator of difference. The older women in the sample either saw me as being 'deviant' (a single, 29 year old still at college, not married).

> "Aren't you going to get married yet, you'll be too old to have children and you're too old to be still at college." (28)

Some of the younger women who had arranged marriages saw me as threat, a know-all.

> "Just because you're still studying, doesn't mean you know everything.." (42)

Others, who had not had an arranged marriage or were studying for degrees saw me as being successful and were glad some South Asian women were achieving, despite cultural pressures and racism in society.

> "...It's good to know we can get somewhere....you've done well going against the culture, that must be hard....and trying in this society...one that doesn't like us Asians." (56)

My identity as a South Asian woman enabled me to identify with my respondents, but at the same time emphasised the real differences between us. I was similar to my respondents. I shared their experiences of the culture, I spoke their language, I understood their experiences. Yet, I was different and regarded as privileged, from a middle class background and being a PhD student, a member of the academic elite. As a social researcher I was viewed as being an 'outsider-inside'. I was part of the 'us'. I understood women's experiences of living as a South Asian woman in an oppressed society which values male power and I also understood women's anger of being racially abused in a society which values white power. But I was also part of the 'them'. I was educated to a high standard, I was a professional and I was the one writing about <u>their</u> lives in articles and books to be published. This made me very different to my respondents. The 'outsider-inside' status made me feel lost in my own research. I did not entirely belong to either group. However, shared experience reveals diversity as much as diversity reveals shared experience, as Du Bois has revealed:

> ...see what is there, not what we've been taught is there, not even what we might wish to find, but what is. (1983:108)

POWER

Within the research process, what is to be considered of vital importance is the structures of power and the social practices upon which the power is produced in the process of carrying out research. The process becomes a symbolic and social reality through which power is maintained and exercised.

The balance of power in the research shifted. In some cases, it was evident I had the power, as I was able to control the questions that were asked. I had the pen and the clip board and I had access to the tape-recorder. In other instances, it was the women who had the power as they were able to decide what they wanted to tell me by withholding information. They could also decide to leave the research unexpectedly.

In some instances, women defined the relationship as something that existed beyond the limits of the interview situation. Women wanted to establish an intimate relationship, a friendship. There existed a great tension between these relationships and the goals of the research project. I had the power because it was my decision if I wanted to continue a personal relationship with my respondents. I have decided to keep my relationships with my respondents as professional, research relationships.

Because of the familiarity of the researcher with the subject matter and the casual style with which information is shared, the researcher's role may become confused. Informants may perceive researchers as experts who have all the answers. The women began to move beyond the interview questions and the interview situation and, in some cases, began to discuss the more personal and intimate details of their lives. I had to constantly remind myself that I was not a therapist, counsellor or a social worker. In this sense, Reinharz (1983) has argued research is:

> ...conducted on a rape model, the researchers take, hit and run. They intrude into their subject's privacy, disrupt their perceptions, utilise false pretences, manipulate the relationship and give little or nothing in return. When the needs of the researcher are satisfied, they break off contact with the subject. (1983:95)

During the year I conducted the interviews I kept a diary. In many cases, I left the interview situation wondering how I had affected women's lives. What did they feel about the questions I had asked them? My feelings after the interviews varied from enjoyment to sympathy to relief. In some cases I became over-emotional trying to understand and deal with the situation of my respondents and left feeling quite depressed, as many of them clearly showed signs of unhappiness.

The interview process became a dialogue, a conversation, a discussion in which there existed a power relationship between two individuals who were discussing an aspect of life they had personal experience of. An effort to explore and clarify the topic under discussion is evident; both are assumed to be individuals who reflect upon their experiences and who communicate these reflections. This is inherent in the situation, neither the subjectivity of the researcher nor the subjectivity of the researched can be eliminated in the research process. As Acker states:

> We found that we had to assume the role of the people with the power to define, the act of looking at interviews, summarising anothers life and placing it within a context is an act of objectification. Indeed, we the researchers took the position that some process of objectification of the self is a necessary part of coming to an awareness of one's own existence; it is not less a part of coming to an understanding of others. (1992:142)

The power relationship between the researcher and the researched is two-way. Cotterill (1992) in writing about issues of power and her own feelings of vulnerability in her research, talks of interviews as:

> ...fluid encounters where balances shift between and during different interview situations. (1992:604)

Whilst acknowledging the fluidity of the interview situation, which can result in feelings of vulnerability, she also acknowledges that the final balance of power does rest with the researcher who interprets, analyses and writes up the data.

The researchers goal is always to gather information and thus the danger of exploitation and manipulation always exists no matter who conducts the research or who interviews whom. Finch (1984) acknowledges the power the researcher holds when she says:

> I have also emerged from interviews with the feeling that my interviewees need to know how to protect themselves from people like me. (1984:80)

The relationship of power in the research process can be viewed as a continuum, individuals in the research process are not just passive. The researcher/researched dichotomy is one of power relations. The researcher can be both powerful and powerless in the research process. The more I revealed about my own personal experiences the more vulnerable and powerless I became. The researcher and the participant establish a relationship that is based on a fair exchange, but power relations may never be fully abolished. Self-disclosure involves a removing of defenses and leaves the researcher with feelings of powerlessness. Yet sometimes, we have no choice but to conceal our opinions and withhold our power, for to reveal them would be problematic. Power and how it operates in the context of research relationships is an issue to be considered and re-considered.

Issues of power in research are not of course just a question of feminist methodology, but concern all research as a privileged activity. Our status as researchers often gives us the power to initiate research: to define the 'others' reality,

to translate 'others' social lives and language in terms that may not be their own. In the final analysis, the researcher departs with the data and the researched stay behind, no better off than before. To this extent, the researcher/researched relationship is an inherently unequal one, with the balance of power weighed disproportionately in favour of the researcher. Gender identity between interviewer and interviewee is not always enough to create common understandings or equalise the power relations between the two parties. The researcher, by virtue of having the data has the power as to what to present. At the same time, the interviewee is able to control the interview and dictate data content and form, but Brannen (1988) notes:

> ...groups without power are not in a position to assert power over the research process. (1989:590)

'GIVING VOICE'

Most of the women found the interview a welcome experience, because of the opportunity it presented to 'give voice' to their experiences of being a South Asian woman in Britain. Nobody had ever listened to what they had wanted to say and they were pleased that somebody actually cared enough to ask them about their experiences and wanted to 'give voice' to their concerns. Many interviewees found indirect support through knowing that there were other women in the study who shared similar experiences to themselves. To this extent the research could be seen to 'give voice' to a group of women who would otherwise remain silent.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the research question and examined the methodological considerations in relation to the research question. It has examined the range of methodological options that were available to the study and questioned the use of a feminist methodology examining the influence of 'race', power

and status and has argued there are many complexities involved in the research process as well as gender. Finally I have attempted to discuss the difficulties and dilemmas that were faced in conducting the research.

By adopting a participatory research strategy, (non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian, non-manipulative and empowering women), I have attempted to incorporate a feminist methodology. I have sought to prevent the repetition of established methodologies which have served to maintain and reinforce women's subordination. The methodology influenced the selection of methods to a great extent. It necessitated the use of methods which would allow me to investigate the meanings South Asian women gave to their lives. The methods also had to be sensitive enough to allow the categories of analysis to emerge from the data. To this end, I decided to adopt a qualitative and quantitative approach to the research. I intended the interviews to be non-hierarchial, so the interview technique was structured and unstructured. I hoped to give respondents space to speak about an issue or event as a whole, rather than isolated questions. I explained my motives, revealed personal information about myself, explained the purpose of the research and ensured confidentiality. My identity as a woman enabled a 'reciprocity', a sharing of knowledge on the basis of gender identity to surface. My identity as a South Asian woman enabled me to understand the racism and discrimination my respondents had suffered. My personal experiences and cultural socialisation as a South Asian woman enabled me to understand the experiences of my respondents (arranged marriages and dowries). I was also aware of the differences which existed between myself and my respondents (power, education and age). I was able to account for the power differences between myself and the respondents, by recognising my location in society affected the research relationship. The women themselves also benefited from the research project. They had the opportunity to talk to a 'sympathetic listener' and to tell their story, for most women

the interview process acted as a form of therapy. Women confided in me about personal troubles, not all of which related to the research project. In such cases, I was seen to provide 'a shoulder to cry on'. Many women said nobody had ever wanted to listen to what they had to say, now they could be heard. To this extent, the research 'gave voice' to a silent group and helped to empower these women. The subjective experiences of respondents were prioritised since this was the way in which they made sense of their lives. The respondents were given the space to define the issues that were important to them. Where the interpretations of events and issues differed between myself and the respondents, both interpretations were accounted for. Finally, in my aim to incorporate a feminist methodology the reproduction of the report was produced in an accessible form where respondents were able to see the results and the final write up.

However, in incorporating a feminist methodology, I would argue the notion of 'woman to woman' interviewing as exemplified by Finch (1984) and Oakley (1981), is too simplistic to account for the complexities involved in 'race', power and status differences in the research process. Finch (1984) and Oakley (1981) argue, as both parties share a subordinate virtue of their gender, power relations between interviewer and interviewee are equalised. My experience of interviewing demonstrates, same-sex status is not enough to create shared understandings or eradicate power differentials between women. 'Race' is an added dimension which affects the research process, as are educational differences, age and issues of power.

As researchers we can individually consider which of the many social characteristics at issue are the most important to a particular situation ('race', class, caste, culture) and locate ourselves within a specific critical paradigm. This will enable us to be aware of all these commonalities and differences which exist in the research and acknowledge the very real differences

between women. These commonalities and differences can be incorporated within the research process itself, from which we can base our judgements and come to our conclusions. At the methodological level, an awareness of the double consciousness that arises from being a member of an oppressed class (women) and a privileged class (scholars), enables feminist researchers to explore women's perception of their situation from an experiential base. Feminist researchers can utilise methods and adopt methodologies which best answer the particular research questions confronting them, but to do so in ways which are consistent with feminist values and goals.

If we aim to move beyond an exploitative relationship between the researcher and the researched and gain insight and meaning into the experiences and lives of women, 'identification with' the researched will enable us to move closer to their view of reality. In analysing the research, reporting how events are experienced or perceived from the woman's own sense of reality, this will help us to gain access to the cultural meanings and categories according to which that particular definition constitutes the world, to see the world through the respondent's eyes. Their sense of reality can be entered into. How we do this, depends on our own background, our own experiences as black/white, working/middle class, homo/heterosexual women/men. Questions about who is conducting the research, is relevant to the research process and can be made explicit in order to better understand the research.

4
Arranged Marriages

INTRODUCTION

Sixty in-depth interviews were carried out with South Asian women living in East London as well as participant observation which included living with a South Asian community. Three groups of South Asian women were investigated: Hindu, Sikh and Moslem to examine the impact of religious difference. Twenty women from each group were interviewed. Different starting points of snowball sampling were used to avoid a biased and skewed sample. The main question of the thesis is: what are the different forms of patriarchy that exist in South Asian communities in Britain, in particular East London? Related questions are: what influences forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? Is it religion, education, employment, domestic labour, domestic finance, arranged marriages or dowries? This chapter will analyse data on arranged marriages as a form of patriarchal oppression in South Asian households.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES

Arranged marriages are a phenomenon which have existed for generations in South Asian communities. They are cultural and traditional practices which are considered the norm. They continue to exist in South Asian communities as they are considered to be part of South Asian identity. What difference do 'race' and culture make to the meaning South Asian women give to their marriages? What difference does the type of marriage for South Asian women make to the forms of patriarchy they experience? How are arranged marriages defined? Why do some South Asian women have arranged marriages and others not? Why are arranged marriages considered to be important in South Asian communities? Did respondents want their own children to have arranged marriages? What type of contact did respondents have with their prospective partners, before marriage? How are single, independent women viewed in South Asian communities? What difference do education, employment and religion make to whether South Asian women have arranged marriages and the forms of patriarchy they experience? Such questions were analysed.

Marital Status

The marital status of respondents varied considerably, half of the respondents in the study (50%) had an arranged marriage, 38% of respondents were living with their partners, (but were not married to them) and 12% of respondents defined themselves as single women. However, there were no respondents who were married by a non-arranged marriage.

TABLE 4.1 MARITAL STATUS

STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Arranged marriage	30	50
Married, not arranged	0	0
Living with partner (Not married)	23	38
Single	7	12
TOTAL	60	100

The Definition of an Arranged Marriage

In South Asian communities, arranged marriages are usually defined as parents and relatives choosing partners for their sons and daughters to marry. All respondents defined the arranged marriage as a process whereby a partner was chosen for them by another individual, this could be a member of the extended family, or a 'middleperson'. Women themselves did not participate in looking for a prospective partner, one was chosen for them on their behalf. The decision to participate in an arranged marriage does not rest in the hands of South Asian women. However, there were differences as to the definition of an arranged marriage.

TABLE 4.2 DEFINITION OF AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE

DEFINITION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Parents	30	50
Parents + Relatives	22	37
'Middleperson'	5	8
Father Only	3	5
TOTAL	60	100

Half of the respondents in the study (50%) defined an arranged marriage as parents finding a partner for their daughter to marry.

> "... when the parents tell you that you have to marry someone and you don't have any choice in who it is and you have to do it...because they make you do it." (11).

> "...it's when the parents tell you of a boy they think will be alright for you and then you might see him at a wedding and then you get married to him." (9).

Other respondents (37%) defined an arranged marriage as parents and relatives choosing a partner for their daughter to marry.

> "...all the parents and the aunts and uncles get together and they start looking for someone and then they get you married." (7).

> "...your mum and dad and then all the other people in the big family, all sit down and discuss your life, then they start to look for someone for you...they all do it together..." (15).

A small number of respondents said it was a 'middleperson' (8%) or the father (5%) who chose a partner for the daughter to marry.

> "...they go and ask someone who knows lots of people in the community...they get someone who we call a 'middleperson' to do it...that person isn't related to you, they just know you in the community..." (35).

> "...we're very strict in our families and we all leave things like that to the head of the family...our dad's are the ones who go and find someone for us to get married to...he's the head of the family and so he chooses who he wants us to marry..." (44).

Arranged marriages were defined as an agreement, a contract, a business arrangement between two families rather than between two individuals. Parents had the ultimate control over arranged marriages, as well as relatives who were able to influence the parent's decision. The families control who they choose for their daughter to marry. They are the ones who tell the parents which people they think are suitable, the parents then making the final choice.

The pressure of the extended family indicates parents too, must conform to behaviour that is expected of them, by their family, the community and the culture. This in turn means the daughters must conform. If they do not, they are punished by many people: their parents, their relatives and ultimately the whole South Asian community and culture. The importance, influence and opinions of family members, (both nuclear and extended), are fundamental to the *arranged marriage. They have power and* control over which decisions are made. Women's choices are made, not only by their parents, but by the extended family. Choice is completely out of the female's hands. Her family controls her and it is to these rules she must conform.

Parents have great control over their daughters. Daughters are pressurised by their parents, and their parents are in turn, pressurised by the culture and members of the community. Strong cultural forces are at work, to keep the position of women inferior. Women's behaviour is controlled through internal, (the immediate family) and external, (community and extended family), pressures. Social control acts as a powerful force to keep women in their proper place, women are not allowed to deviate from this. The idea of control is also demonstrated by parents making all the decisions and controlling all aspects of

the marriage relationship. This reinforces women's dependency on the family as they are unable to make their own decisions. Furthermore, the emphasis on older male members of the household having control and power over all women is evident.

The arranged marriage includes a total loss of personal autonomy on the part of women. A lower age of marriage is desirable and customary for women. The social and economic importance attached to marriage is based upon the structure of the South Asian family. Duty towards and respect for the family is firmly laid down, and daughters have to rely on their parent's wisdom and authority in selecting a suitable boy.

The Importance of an Arranged Marriage

Arranged marriages are considered to be very important in South Asian communities, they are part of the cultural identity of South Asian people. Arranged marriages were seen to be important as they were part of the culture and for the respect they would bring to members of the family. However, it was the community which pressurised individuals to believe arranged marriages were important and individuals felt they had to conform to this pressure.

TABLE 4.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE IMPORTANT

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Culture	15	25
Respect	10	17
Work	4	6
Family Bond	3	5
Religion	1	2
SUB-TOTAL	33	55
NOT IMPORTANT		
Community Pressure	19	32
No Choice	3	5
Unhappiness	3	5
Degrade Women	2	3
SUB-TOTAL	27	45
TOTAL	60	100

A total of 55% of respondents said arranged marriages were important in South Asian communities. Different responses were given for the importance of arranged marriages, 25% of respondents said arranged marriages were important due to the cultural expectations and traditions which existed in South Asian communities, these were linked to South Asian identity. The cultural identity of South Asian people was a very important part of individual's lives which were influenced and reinforced by having an arranged marriage.

> "...they are part of the culture and the people believe in them and it's the people who want to stick to the culture, it's like it's their identity to have an arranged marriage" (16).

"...the arranged marriage exists in our culture and we follow it, because it's part of our Asian identity and it's part of what we believe in, it's our tradition...mostly it's our whole identity..." (23).

Participating in an arranged marriage demonstrated the respect daughters had for their parents, 17% of respondents said this.

"...if you have an arranged marriage, it shows you really do respect your parents and you respect what they think and so you do what they tell you to do, the best thing you can do is show that respect by doing what they tell you to do..." (29).

"...respect is very important to us, you show you care about what they (parents) think and so you do what they tell you do..." (7).

A minority of respondents (7%) said arranged marriages were important because they worked or they demonstrated the strength of the family bond (5%).

"...I think they work...the divorce rate is low for us Asians, because we make our marriages work, it just shows what a good thing the arranged marriage is...all my family have had arranged marriages and they have all worked..." (42).

"...if you have an arranged marriage it just means you have a strong link with your family and you are very close to them, it shows you care about them...and it's because we're all very close knit..." (28).

However, a total of 45% of respondents said arranged marriages were not important in South Asian communities. Different reasons were given for this, 32% of respondents said it was the pressure from the community which made individuals feel arranged marriages were important.

"...people make you think the arranged marriages are very important...because they come with the culture and so everyone has to have them...they don't want to be the ones who'll be talked about..." (14).

> "...it's Asian people, they make us think they are (important)...they make us think that's the only thing we have in our life to aim for and if we don't have an arranged marriage we are nothing...and we've done nothing with our lives...people just make you think you have to have an arranged marriage and so you have to make sure you please them...like people in the community." (37).

The pressure from the community was immense and South Asian parents felt they had to conform in order to be accepted in the culture and in order to preserve their 'izzat'. 'Izzat' is based upon family pride, honour and reputation in the community which is primarily related to male members of the family. However, it is women who are able to alter, destroy or enhance the 'izzat'.

> "...you have to make sure you have a good clean reputation and a good 'izzat' and so you want all your children, especially your daughters to have an arranged marriage...and you do what has to be done to make sure this happens." (4).

A minority of respondents (5%) said arranged marriages did not bring happiness to women, degraded women (3%), or gave women no choice in their lives (5%).

> "...lots of Asian people do think that they're (arranged marriages) important, because they want their children to have them...but that doesn't mean the girls will be happy...they (parents) just want to get them married, so they will be happy themselves." (15).

> "...I think they (arranged marriages) degrade women, they make women look worse than men, and it's always the men who have the choice and not the women...men are the ones who benefit from the arranged marriages, women don't...it's the worse thing for women..." (17).61.5

As young women grown into adulthood, there is great pressure towards conformity, obedience and support of the family. Hence, a daughters reputation must be guarded at all costs. If a daughter steps out of line, she not only jeopardises her own

chances of marriage and respect from the community, but also the chances of her siblings and the standing of her parents. Not only are women the guardians of the family honour ('izzat'), but they are also the transmitters of the religion and culture and if they deviate, they will be unable to adequately fulfil this task. South Asian women are entrusted with a large part of the burden for carrying the family honour. Their personal reputation should be spotless and the spirit of the cultural and family tradition is passed on from mother to daughter from the beginning of the child's life. Great pressure is placed upon women to guard and guide the family honour. South Asian families generally give greater protection to girls and encourage them to be a good wife and mother. Traditionally, she is protected by her family, (father and brothers) and then her husband.

The idea of parents emphasising the arranged marriage, was based upon the need for a separate cultural South Asian identity, which was considered to be a strong and powerful indicator of social control. If women rejected arranged marriages, they were not only rejecting their culture, but their identity. The whole notion of arranged marriages being part of South Asian identity was seen to be more important for women than for men. Women were the ones who felt they had to hold onto their identity, because the arranged marriage was part of their whole life and was part of what the culture dictated to them. Part of being a woman was to have an arranged marriage and this was part of being identified as a South Asian woman who participated in her culture.

The families and parents themselves emphasise the importance of arranged marriages and see arranged marriages as an acceptance of cultural standards and parent's attitudes and beliefs. The importance of adhering to cultural standards of behaviour indicates the ways in which individuals feel the need to retain their South Asian identity, at all costs. The culture is a powerful force of social control, enabling women to know their

place in the community, to maintain and reinforce their identity.

The hierarchial and authoritarian structure of the South Asian family produces certain goals and emphasises in child-rearing practices and family interaction patterns. Family well-being and success are not seen to be advanced by concentration on the development of personal characteristics, abilities or ambitions of individual members. Self-definition is based upon social roles and relationships. Esteem is more dependent on properly fulfilling these roles, on cultivating individual potential. This is particularly true of women, for whom every standard and every value, is the direct result of one tradition or another.

Obedience to family and authority indicates a concern with family values rather than individualistic ones. Getting the young person married is seen to be the main responsibility of parents. Family reputation is also considered to be of utmost concern. The rebellion of older siblings, even if successful, might inhibit rather than facilitate the possibility of such action by younger siblings. Marriages of future siblings can also be taken as pointers to a satisfactory future rather than as threatening or inhibiting. Many accept the arranged marriage, because they believe in the principles from which it is based. They have grown up with the values of respect, obedience, filial duty and parental obligation; with a knowledge of the supreme importance of the family, its position and honour within the community; with a strong sense of tradition and a self-definition in terms of role rather than personal individuality.

In addition, as the family is the primary support system, individuals must expect to give support to all family members, particularly parents and siblings. Since the family is the essential social and economic unit, they should also expect to consider its interests before their own. The prime responsibility is towards family welfare rather than personal

development, this together with concern for the family's reputation and proper attention to what is due to elders and those in authority, are the superordinate requirements.

Arranged marriages were seen as having more of an effect on females than males. Women had less control and influence over the arranged marriage. Men had more control and choice over deciding which women they would consider marrying and were more likely to choose women they could control. The ultimate decision of having an arranged marriage rested with the male, if he decided he liked a woman, in the majority of cases women were unlikely to refuse. This was also related to the 'izzat' of the bride's family. For a woman to refuse a marriage, was the ultimate 'sharam' (shame).

Type of Contact

During the process of selecting a suitable boy for their daughter, parents allow little or no prior contact between the prospective partners, this would be considered breaking the rules of South Asian culture. Respondents who had an arranged marriage (50%) were asked the type of contact they had with their prospective partners before marriage. A range of contact was experienced by women who had an arranged marriage, from dating their partners to writing and telephoning them.

TABLE 4.4 TYPE OF CONTACT FOR RESPONDENTS WHO HAD AN ARRANGE MARRIAGE

TYPE OF CONTACT	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Met Once	13	43
Telephone	10	33
Letters	5	17
Dated	2	7
TOTAL	30	100

Of those respondents who had an arranged marriage, 43% said

they met their prospective partner on one occasion, before they were married.

> "...I only met my husband once for about 20 minutes...we talked and then he said yes and we got married about 6 months later and I didn't see him until then..." (6).
>
> "...I was only allowed to meet my husband once, and even then I wasn't even going to be allowed to do that...then we met once at a family function, but I wasn't allowed to talk to him and after that we got married..." (44).

Others (33% of respondents who had an arranged marriage) were allowed to telephone their prospective partners.

> "...we were allowed to phone each other...that was considered safe because I lived in Bradford and he lived in London and when we chatted my parents were in the same room..." (48).
>
> "...my husband would phone me, but I was never allowed to phone him...and they (parents) didn't mind really, we needed to get to know each other..." (29).

Some respondents (17% of those who had an arranged marriage) wrote to their prospective partners and a small minority (7% of those who had an arranged marriage) dated their prospective partners.

> "...I was living in Pakistan then and so we wrote to each other all the time, that was allowed, because it was so far and they knew it was only letters...we couldn't meet, it was too far away..." (41).
>
> "...I went out with my husband before I got married to him, but nobody knew about that, if they did they would have gone mad and things would have got nasty...but we just made sure nobody saw us and we went to places that were safe, where we wouldn't see people we knew...it was fun then..." (4).

Love was something which came after the marriage relationship and not before. Minimum contact with husbands before marriage was the norm. The family controlled all aspects of contact the female had. No direct contact was acceptable. Parents do not

allow much contact, as if the female were to change her mind, they would be disgraced and looked down upon and their whole 'izzat' would be shattered. Here, the power and control of parents and family is evident. By restricting women's behaviour, they control her life and hence she must conform.

Arranged marriages are linked to strict moral codes, premarital celibacy is considered a great virtue especially for girls. Parents look to education, economic status and reputation of the family and the partner before they make a decision. There is great pressure on women, more so than men to follow the tradition of arranged marriages. If women wanted to rebel, their non-conformist behaviour was not tolerated, because it would result in gossip, scandal and humiliation for the parents, who would be subject to social criticism which would jeopardise their relationship with the kinship group and the community in general. Women are constantly under pressure to please others: their parents, the extended family, the community and the culture. If they refuse a man, they disappoint many people. It is their parent's needs that must be satisfied, their own needs are considered to be secondary or irrelevant. If they marry, their parents achieve respect and status in the community. Again, family power is evident, it is used to control women and make them behave in accordance with the culture's rules and acceptable standards of behaviour.

Own Children and Arranged Marriages

Most South Asian parents would like their children to have arranged marriages, as they would like to continue the custom and tradition of arranged marriages. All respondents were asked whether they would want their children to have arranged marriages. Respondents who said they wanted their children to have arranged marriages as they wanted to continue the traditions of South Asian culture had an arranged marriage themselves. Those who said they did not want their children to have arranged marriages, as arranged marriages were degrading for women had not had an arranged marriage.

TABLE 4.5 OWN CHILDREN AND ARRANGED MARRIAGES

ARRANGED MARRIAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Continue Traditions	24	40
Demonstrate Love	3	5
Obedience	3	5
SUB-TOTAL	30	50
NON ARRANGED MARRIAGE		
Choice	10	17
Degrading	14	23
Disagree	4	7
Don't Know	2	3
SUB-TOTAL	30	50
TOTAL	60	100

A total of 50% of respondents said they would like their children to have arranged marriages. All these respondents had an arranged marriage. Different reasons were given for the continuation of arranged marriages, 40% of respondents said they wanted to continue the traditions of South Asian culture, which for them, meant participating in an arranged marriage.

> "...I believe in my culture and in keeping it the way it is, that's why I want my children to have arranged marriages, they will know where they're coming from and who they are..." (4).

> "...I want the traditions of the arranged marriage to stay in my family, all the people before us did it and I hope all the people after us do it...I want my children to carry on that tradition..." (22).

A minority of respondents (5%) said they wanted to demonstrate the love they had for their children and so wanted to continue the custom of arranged marriages. Others (5%) said they wanted their children to obey them and so their children would have to

have arranged marriages.

> "...it's a way of showing you care for them when you choose someone for them to marry...you have their best interests at heart..." (29).
>
> "...I want my children to do what they are told...I don't want them to do what the white people do, roam free, they have to do what we tell them...it's the only way they will be happy..." (48).

However, 50% of respondents said they would not want their children to have arranged marriages. All these respondents had not had an arranged marriage. Different reasons were given for not continuing the arranged marriage, 23% of respondents (who had not had an arranged marriage), said arranged marriages were degrading to women.

> "...I don't want my daughters to have an arranged marriage...they just make women look inferior and they humiliate women, because women don't have a choice and women are the ones who are worse off than men...I think they degrade women in a bad way..." (37).
>
> "...if women have arranged marriages, they are the ones who are seen to be inferior to men and men are the ones who have the power over women, they (arranged marriages) put women down and make them look cheap...like pieces of meat..." (20).

Other respondents who had not had an arranged marriage (17%) said they did not want their children to have arranged marriages, but wanted their children to have their own choice in life.

> "...I want them to make their own decisions and they can choose who they want to marry...they should be able to do that, it's their life, let them live it how they want to live it...nobody should decide who you're going to marry, that should be one decision you should be able to make by yourself..." (11).

The strong force of the arranged marriage and the culture co-exist. Both are seen to be part of the identity of South Asian

people, more so for South Asian women. If South Asian women pass the 'marriageable age', they are stigmatised. Not only do women have to have an arranged marriage, they must be a certain age when they marry and they must be able to cook, clean and sew. These are all lessons learnt in childhood, where the female from a very early age is prepared for the arranged marriage. Prepared to perform specific duties as the wife. This keeps women controlled and pressurised to fulfil this role; to be the perfect wife and mother. If not, they are stigmatised and the whole community knows of their failings and treats them, (and their parents), in accordance with this.

Arranged marriages do not necessarily create a new and independent family, but are an expansion of an already existing family. The arranged marriage, its customs and traditions demands parents of male children to see that their sons are married and have male children, to continue and preserve the ancestral line for generations to come. Since the family continuity and preservation for generations to come is highly valued, parents are mainly concerned with their sons early marriage to please their ancestors as well as the future members of the family line, so the continuation of arranged marriages is considered to be fundamental for South Asian communities.

Single, Independent Women

Single, independent women in South Asian communities are considered as 'deviant' women. They have broken the rules of South Asian culture and have not participated in an arranged marriage. Respondents were asked their views on single women, who lived their lives independently. Those respondents who said single women were strong or risked loosing their family were more likely to be independent women themselves. Those respondents who said single women were sexually promiscuous or ruined the family name were more likely to be women who had an arranged marriage.

TABLE 4.6 SINGLE, INDEPENDENT WOMEN

SINGLE WOMEN	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Strong/Independent	16	27
Risk Loosing Family	12	20
Sexually Promiscuous	15	25
Ruin Family Name	17	28
TOTAL	60	100

Respondents who said single women were strong and independent (27%) were more likely to be independent and single themselves.

> "...they are very brave and strong and I think they stay single because they want to be independent and they are making a stand...I think they must really want it because it's so hard for Asian women if they want to do what they want..." (36).

Other respondents (20%) said single women took a very big risk, if they wanted to remain single, they risked loosing their family. These women were also more likely to be independent and single.

> "...we are made to know the great importance of the family from an early age...if we don't obey, we have nothing...because of the way we're brought up we're made to believe we can't do anything for ourselves...so when we leave it's very hard for us, it's like you have no-one to rely on anymore...it's scary, but it's worth it, because you have your freedom...and then you learn to live with it...it becomes part of your normal life..." (18).

Respondents who said single women were sexually promiscuous (25%), were more likely to have had an arranged marriage themselves.

> "...they have a problem...they just want to be single, so that they can sleep around, they want to be like the white women so they give us all a bad name...they're just selfish women...just slags really..." (50).

Other respondents who said single women ruined the family name (28%), were also more likely to have had an arranged marriage.

> "...they just put us all to shame...we can't walk down the street without people talking about us...we can't look people in the face...they just make us feel as though we wish we were dead...we may as well be...it's the worst thing seeing an Asian girl with a white man, and you know the whole community suffers...she gets what she wants, but everyone else has to pay for what she's done...I hate them, they make me sick..." (6).

South Asian women felt, because the arranged marriage was part of their entire socialisation, they were unable to reject it and were afraid of rejecting it, as they in turn would be rejected from the community. As the arranged marriage is part of the socialisation process for South Asian women, it is something that is embedded into their lives and is seen as being 'natural'. The idea of keeping things as they were was important. South Asian people wanted their society to remain static and did not see change as being part of their lives. Change was considered to be a bad thing, this was based upon fear. The fear that if things changed, women would no longer be controlled and would rebel against all the rules that have kept them in an inferior place for generations. Change indicated men would no longer have control over women. Men want to keep this control as it preserves the culture and holds on to South Asian identity. For South Asian people, the arranged marriage is part of their childhood socialisation and is something they grow up to expect, it is instilled into them from an early age and is reflected upon the different gender role socialisation that exists for males and females in South Asian communities.

Socialisation plays a great part in controlling women and dictating the roles they must follow. To deviate from these roles is considered wrong and women have a high price to pay if they do so. The force of stigma and gossip is so powerful that parents would do anything to make sure the finger was not pointed at them. The community is regarded as a strong force of

control, not only for women, but for the families themselves and it is the community that must be satisfied first and not the individual woman.

Women are not allowed to think for themselves or become independent. If they do become independent, they are punished for having broken the rules of South Asian culture and having rejected its values. They are regarded as sexually promiscuous. It is their parents, and in turn their family members who are punished. If a woman decides she does not want to have an arranged marriage, her whole family is affected by her actions. When women break the rules of South Asian culture, their behaviour affects other members of the family and community. The extended family and the community punish the family, by criticising the lack of control they have over the women in their family. Parents through fear, then place stronger demands on their daughters. The effect of a woman rebelling enforces a chain reaction to take place.

Cultural View of Single, Independent Women

Single, independent women in South Asian communities are regarded by the culture as not only having broken all the rules of the culture, but as sexually promiscuous and selfish. Respondents were asked their opinions on the cultural view of single, independent women. Some respondents felt single, independent women were regarded as having to be punished and had ruined the 'izzat' of family members. These respondents were more likely to have had an arranged marriage. Others felt single, independent women were regarded as being sexually loose and had broken the rules of South Asian culture. These respondents were more likely to be single.

TABLE 4.7 CULTURAL VIEW OF SINGLE, INDEPENDENT WOMEN

CULTURAL VIEW	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Broken Rules	15	25
Ruined 'Izzat'	25	43
Should be Punished	10	16
Sexually Loose	10	16
TOTAL	60	100

Respondents who said single, independent women would be seen as having ruined the 'izzat' of the family members (43%) were more likely to have had an arranged marriage, 15 out of 25 respondents who said this were married women.

> "...they are not respected...they have committed the worst crime, they have ruined the 'izzat' and it would be never be able to returned...they are never respected again..." (25).

> "...they are just selfish, they ruin everything for everyone, they ruin the family's name and then people don't want to marry the other women in your family, because they think they're all like that..." (48).

However, other respondents who said this had not had an arranged marriage (10 out of 25).

> "...if women want to do what they want, they are not seen as being strong women, but they are seen as having ruined the family name...everything depends on other people...the Asian culture is very selfish, it doesn't allow people to be themselves, they have to please their parents first and they have to satisfy the 'izzat'..." (20).

Other respondents (25%) said single, independent women would be seen as having broken the rules of South Asian culture. These women were more likely to be single (12 out of 15).

> "...if you're taught to do certain things when you're young, these things are expected of you...and then if you decide to do what you want to do, that's a different story then...you've broken all the precious rules of what they (parents) and the culture wants you to do..." (16).

However, a small minority of respondents who said this, were married (3 out of 15).

> "...these women have broken all the important rules of the culture...they have gone against everything they were taught not to do...and so once they have broken the rules, nobody cares about them...it's too late, too much is damaged..." (7).

Other respondents (16%) said the culture would want single, independent women to be punished. All respondents who said this had an arranged marriage.

> "....they should be punished badly, so that other girls can see what they're doing is wrong and so they won't want to do it...they'd be better off dead for the pain they've caused their parents...they should be punished..." (49).

Yet other respondents (16%) said the culture would regard single, independent as being sexually loose. These respondents were more likely to be single and had not had an arranged marriage (8 out of 10).

> "...when Asian women decide they don't want to follow the culture, the culture just punishes them...instead of trying to understand the reasons for living alone and being independent, they immediately think you want to sleep around...they don't understand and they will never understand...they make too many assumptions and don't bother to try and understand what's going on..." (20).

A small minority who said this were married (2 out of 10).

> "...if they don't do what they are told, what do they expect? They are just women who want to sleep with different men and they want the culture to approve...that will never happen and all the men will see them like they see prostitutes and they will just get used..." (21).

In South Asian communities, women who rebel are regarded as having ruined the 'izzat' of the whole family and as having broken the rules of the culture. Furthermore, they are seen as being sexually promiscuous and selfish, putting their own needs before those of the family.

Respect in the community is regarded as a strong force of social control, which is directed towards women, their behaviour influences it and they are the ones who may suffer because of it. Achieving status in South Asian communities is gained by conforming to acceptable standards of behaviour. Once this happens, respect is achieved and status is enhanced. If parents do not control their daughters, they loose respect and are regarded as being failures, they in turn blame their daughters for this.

If women rebel, they break the family bonds. A breaking of family values is breaking a fundamental rule in South Asian culture. The family plays an important part in keeping women under control and obeying all the rules, which means conforming and accepting an arranged marriage. Arranged marriages, (the processes and methods of selection), are considered to be specific and unique to South Asian people. It is from arranged marriages that South Asian women maintain their identity as being South Asian. If they do not participate in arranged marriages, their whole South Asian identity is at stake. Arranged marriages were seen as part of the South Asian identity, they were historical, cultural and generational.

The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment

To what extent do religion, education and employment affect South Asian women's position within households? Previous

literature has indicated religion affects women's lives (Anthias and Yuval-davis 1989, Sahgal and Yuval-Davis 1992), does the present research indicate this? To what extent do education and employment affect women's lives? This section will examine data on arranged marriages and examine, what difference do religion, education and employment make to women's responses on arranged marriages? Were single women more likely to be highly educated and in high positions in the division of labour compared to women who had an arranged marriage? To analyse the relationship between variables chi square tests of significance were used (tables 4.9 to 4.12). If chi square was less than .05 the correlation was shown to be highly significant.

Religion

Religion affected whether South Asian women had an arranged marriage. Moslem women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage, followed by Sikh and Hindu women. However, religion did not affect women's attitudes to arranged marriages.

TABLE 4.8 RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAD AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE

RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE WHO HAD AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE
MOSLEM	13	43
SIKH	9	30
HINDU	8	27
TOTAL	30	100

Education

Level of education affected women's attitudes on whether they felt arranged marriages were a good thing. Respondents who said arranged marriages were important as they indicated the respect individuals had for their parents and the culture had low levels of education (those who had no qualifications or 'O'

levels). Respondents who felt arranged marriages were not important as arranged marriages indicated the pressure of the community, gave women no choice in life or degraded women were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

TABLE 4.9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WOMEN'S RESPONSES ON THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE

	EDUCATION (per cent)							
IMPORTANT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
Culture	20	7	27	13	7	20	6	25
Respect	10	-	60	10	20	-	-	17
Work	25	-	25	25	25	-	-	6
Family Bond	67	-	33	-	-	-	-	5
Religion	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	2
NOT IMPORTANT								
Pressure	-	5	11	-	5	53	26	32
No Choice	-	-	-	-	-	33	67	5
Unhappiness	-	-	33	-	33	33	-	5
Degrade Women	-	-	-	-	-	50	50	3
COLUMN TOTAL	11	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

EDUCATION, CHI SQUARE VALUE (48 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.01224

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Level of education affected whether respondents wanted their own children to have arranged marriages. Respondents who wanted their own children to have arranged marriages as they wanted to continue the traditions and customs of South Asian culture had a low level of education (those who had 'O' levels).

Respondents who did not want their own children to have arranged marriages as they felt arranged marriages degraded women were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

TABLE 4.10 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WHETHER RESPONDENTS WANTED THEIR OWN CHILDREN TO HAVE AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE

	EDUCATION (per cent)							
ARRANGED MARRIAGE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
Continue Traditions	15	7	62	16	-	-	-	40
Demonstrate Love	65	-	25	-	10	-	-	5
Obedience	45	30	-	-	25	-	-	5
NON ARRANGED MARRIAGE								
Choice	-	-	-	-	-	50	50	17
Degrading	-	-	-	-	33	33	33	23
Disagree	-	-	-	-	-	50	50	7
Don't Know	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	3
COLUMN TOTAL	11	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

EDUCATION, CHI SQUARE VALUE (36 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.00004

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Highly educated respondents (those who had a BA or MA) said arranged marriages were negative for women and were less likely to have had an arranged marriage. Respondents who had a lower level of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), said arranged marriages were positive for women and had an arranged marriage themselves.

Employment

Women's position in the division of labour affected their attitudes to arranged marriages. Those who said single, independent women were strong were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional and students). Those who said single, independent women were sexually promiscuous were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual and semi-skilled).

TABLE 4.11 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND RESPONDENT'S VIEWS ON SINGLE, INDEPENDENT WOMEN

SINGLE WOMEN	OCCUPATION (per cent) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
Strong/Independent	-	-	-	-	-	45	25	30	27
Risk Loosing Family	-	-	-	-	80	-	-	20	20
Sexually Promiscuous	20	20	30	30	-	-	-	-	25
Ruin Family Name	6	-	60	10	24	-	-	-	28
COLUMN TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

EMPLOYMENT, CHI SQUARE VALUE (14 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.02421

1 = Unemployed Housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled Manual
4 = Semi-Skilled
5 = Non-Manual
6 = Semi-Professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Women's position in the division of labour affected their attitudes to the cultural view of independent, single women. Those who said single women ruined the 'izzat' of the family and should be punished were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual and semi-skilled). Those who said single, independent women were regarded as being sexually loose and had broken the rules of South Asian culture were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional and students).

TABLE 4.12 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND RESPONDENT'S OPINIONS ON THE CULTURAL VIEW OF SINGLE, INDEPENDENT WOMEN

SINGLE WOMEN CULTURAL VIEW	OCCUPATION (per cent) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
Broken Rules	10	-	7	-	10	-	20	53	25
Ruined 'izzat'	12	12	43	14	19	-	-	-	43
Should be Punished	25	-	61	7	7	-	-	-	16
Sexually Loose	-	-	-	-	-	80	10	10	16
TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

EMPLOYMENT, CHI SQUARE VALUE (14 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.03272

1 = Unemployed Housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled Manual
4 = Semi-Skilled
5 = Non-Manual
6 = Semi-Professional

Respondents who were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual, non-manual), had an arranged marriage. Those who were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, professional), had not had an arranged marriage (and did not intend to).

Traditional and Independent Women

Respondents who had a low level of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual) and were defined as 'traditional' women. They portrayed conformist, traditional attitudes towards arranged marriages. They saw arranged marriages as being positive for women, had an arranged marriage and experienced private patriarchy inside the household through the system of arranged marriages.

Highly educated respondents (those who had a BA or MA), were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional) and were defined as 'independent' women. They portrayed non-conformist attitudes towards arranged marriages and saw arranged marriages as being oppressive to women. They were living with their partners and did not intend to have an arranged marriage. They experienced public patriarchy outside the household through paid employment (see Chapter 1 Introduction, Traditional and Independent women).

CONCLUSION

Different forms of patriarchy exist in South Asian households. One of the ways private patriarchy manifests itself is through the system of arranged marriages. Arranged marriages are customary practices which have existed for generations in South Asian communities. Opinions and practices on arranged marriages are divided. Some respondents felt arranged marriages were positive for women, whilst others felt arranged marriages degraded women.

Religion influenced whether South Asian women had an arranged marriage, but did not influence women's attitudes to arranged marriages. Level of education and position in the division of labour affected women's attitudes to arranged marriages. Highly educated women are in high positions in the division of labour, these women decide not to have an arranged marriage. They see arranged marriages as being oppressive to women and hold liberal attitudes to arranged marriages. These women become educated, decide they do not want to have an arranged marriage and become employed which results in them being self-sufficient. They are in a better position compared to traditional women, as they have the education and employment to break away from the oppressive nature of arranged marriages and South Asian culture. These women (Independent) experience a public form of patriarchy through forces external to the household, such as education and employment.

Traditional women however, do not have the opportunity or are unable to become highly educated. They are in low positions in the division of labour and are more likely to have an arranged marriage. They have few other choices available to them. These women experience a private form of patriarchy which takes place inside the household and is reinforced through arranged marriages. Once traditional women have arranged marriages, they become trapped inside the household and are unable to break away from the marriage relationship. They have low levels of education and feel they would be unable to support their family alone. They are patriarchally controlled by the cultural forces, standards of behaviour and relations inside the household.

Different forms of patriarchy operate at different levels, to keep women in an inferior and controlled position. Certain women (independent) are controlled by external forces of patriarchy and others (traditional) are controlled by internal forces of patriarchy. Cultural dictation reinforces women's subordinate position to keep them controlled at all times.

When arranged marriages take place, traditionally, the son remains in the home of his parents and his wife joins him, so daughters are always considered to be temporary family members in their family of origin. The South Asian daughter brought up in the traditional way, knows throughout her childhood that she must leave her own family and thereafter belong, (sometimes in a restricted way), to another family which may be unknown to her. The son stays in familiar surroundings, but gains a further companion and support in the person of his wife. Moreover, in the traditional system, the new daughter-in-law has to undertake a considerable portion of the family's housework.

When selecting a partner, parents consider the personal and moral qualities of both the patrilineal and matrilineal kin. A good family is defined by the absence of scandals and incorrect marriages, stressing the importance of previous marriage relations in determining the background of families. 'Deviant' marriages are not tolerated and may hurt the pride of all the individual members of the extended family. Another important factor in determining the status of the bride, is her physical appearance, which ranks above her knowledge of household skills, temperament and education.

Women's lives are closely controlled by male members of the community: fathers, brothers, uncles and husbands. Men's power over women reinforces their position as one of being inferior, submissive and having to be controlled by men. If they do not conform to these rules, there would be a high price to pay, risking loosing their family and being ostracised from the extended family and the community.

For women, being attached to a man indicates men have sexual control over women as well as social control. The pressure of the community and the force of social control make 'sharam' (shame) appear to be powerful. 'Izzat' is considered to be at stake, it is women who must make sure men's 'izzat' is not

altered or destroyed. So, women's behaviour has to be closely monitored at all times in order that they may conform.

Most respondents felt the arranged marriage was part of the South Asian culture and part of the identity for South Asian people. It was a tradition, something that had been going on for a long time and would continue to do so. It was something that was embedded within South Asian culture for South Asian people. The culture was regarded as being influential as it set the rules of the arranged marriage. The culture and the arranged marriage were seen as being part and parcel of the same thing, they are both interrelated.

Traditionally, marriage is seen as being a form of identity for traditional South Asian women. It is through marriage that they are able to achieve respect and status in South Asian communities. Single women are stigmatised and regarded as having failed the culture and community. South Asian women's identity is achieved through the men in their culture. Women are only respected if they belong to a man. Before marriage they belong and are identified through their father and brothers and after marriage their identity is achieved through their husband. If they obey their husband and maintain a calm sense of family life, they are accepted and their identity is regarded as achieving a significant status, where they show respect for their husband and for other male members of the extended family. Male respect is central to South Asian communities and female respect is achieved through male respect. Conformity for women is considered to be fundamental to women's status and identity.

An alternative view of arranged marriages is that they are seen as a form of social control for women. It is through the system of arranged marriages that private patriarchy operates. The cultural dictation for South Asian women gives them a sense of identity through which patriarchy is evident. Women's identity and social roles are structured to meet society and men's

needs. These needs must be satisfied for women's role and position in the community to be accepted. The arranged marriage disadvantages women, they are controlled by the cultural standards of behaviour, by men and the family they marry into. Arranged marriages are seen as customary, historical practices for South Asian women, that aim to confine women to the home and encourage women to be obedient to men. South Asian women behave in accordance with the cultural norms, with behaviour that has been learnt through the process of socialisation, behaviour that is culturally expected and culturally accepted. The cultural system is one of tradition, one which has been in existence for generations. South Asian parents want their children to maintain the cultural system of their country of origin, this is reinforced by the continuation of arranged marriages and strict adherence to cultural norms of behaviour. Much emphasis is placed on the control of South Asian women, as the whole future of the community rests with them. They will be the ones to transmit values to the following generations, through the education and upbringing of their children.

Traditional women are controlled through South Asian society, the community, the family and the culture itself. They are controlled sexually, morally and socially. Women must be pure and obedient when they marry. They have to be socially conditioned to behave as South Asian culture wants them to behave. In the South Asian context, marriage alliance is moderated by the logic of the caste system and its concern with monitoring the purity of women. Women's behaviour has to be controlled in accordance with patriarchal practices in South Asian culture. Through arranged marriages, patriarchal ideology is reinforced which reproduces solidarities, maintains cohesion and cultural identity through social relations within the particular group. The marriage relationship confines traditional South Asian women to the private sphere of the household and oppresses them. Arranged marriages are one of the central and defining structural features of South Asian communities. Traditional women have a dependent relationship in

marriage and so are unequal to men. It is through the culture that women's position is subordinated and controlled. Women's identity and gender roles are defined by the patriarchal relations which affect women through the culture. Patriarchal power and gender relations are crucial mechanisms that translate gender norms and differences into female disadvantage. The idea of marriage in South Asian communities is based on ownership, control and domination.

Private patriarchy reinforces itself through the system of arranged marriages which takes place inside the household. It is through the system of arranged marriages where traditional women are oppressed and controlled, where women do not have any choice or control over the marriage arrangement. Arranged marriages are used as a form of patriarchal control to keep women powerless and controlled by men.

5
Dowries

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will analyse the contribution of dowries to patriarchy within South Asian households. The dowry system is as powerful as the arranged marriage in influencing how South Asian women are viewed by members of the culture and community. The arranged marriage and the dowry are both related and exist co-independently. They both operate to keep women in an inferior position. Women are disadvantaged and have great pressure placed upon them to conform. Private patriarchy exists not only through the continuation of arranged marriages, but also through the giving and receiving of dowries, in which women are sold as property to men. Women are controlled through private patriarchy and are indirectly controlled through cultural rules of acceptable behaviour, which dictate the ways in which men and women should behave.

DOWRIES

Dowries exist in South Asian communities in conjunction with the arranged marriage. They are generally given to the bride on her wedding day, to take with her when she starts her new life in the home of her husband and his family. Why are dowries given in South Asian communities? Which respondents were given a dowry and what was the description of the dowry? What is the relationship of women to the giving of dowries? Would respondents give their own children a dowry? How do dowries affect forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women? What difference do education, employment and religion make to women's views on dowries and whether they had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry? Such questions will be explored to investigate dowries as a contribution to patriarchy within South Asian households.

Were Women Given a Dowry?

In South Asian communities, dowries are a phenomenon that have continued to exist for generations. Generally speaking, dowry refers to the gifts or wealth given along with the daughter at the time of marriage. In practice however, it is thought the

bride has little control over her dowry. The giving and receiving of dowries is closely related to the arranged marriage system. Parents of the bride ('bride-givers'), are automatically expected to give the dowry and parents of the groom ('bride-takers'), expect to receive it. Presentation and receipt of the dowry is considered to be a legitimate right of individuals. All respondents in the study were asked if they were given a dowry.

TABLE 5.1 WERE WOMEN GIVEN A DOWRY?

	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
GIVEN A DOWRY (HAD AN ARRANGED MARRIAGE)	30	50
NOT GIVEN A DOWRY	30	50
(NOT MARRIED)		
TOTAL	60	100

Half of the respondents in the study (50%) were given a dowry. All respondents who were given a dowry had also had an arranged marriage. Respondents who were not given a dowry (50%) were not married.

Definition of a Dowry

Dowries are generally defined as gifts or wealth given along with the daughter at the time of marriage. A range of responses were given for the definition of the dowry. Some respondents felt dowries were given to the bride by her family, others felt dowries were given to the groom by the bride's family, yet others felt dowries were given to the couple. But, on all occasions the dowry was given by the bride's family.

TABLE 5.2 DEFINITION OF A DOWRY

DEFINITION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1	29	48
2	16	27
3	2	3
4	7	12
5	4	7
6	2	3
TOTAL	60	100

1 = Gifts given to the bride by her parents.
2 = Gifts given to the bride by her parents and her relatives.
3 = Gifts given to the groom by the bride's parents.
4 = Gifts given to the couple by the bride's parents.
5 = Gifts given to the groom's family by the bride's parents.
6 = Gifts given to the groom's family by the bride's parents and relatives.

Most respondents (48%) defined the dowry as gifts that were given to the bride, by her parents.

> "...that's the giving of very expensive gifts to the bride on her wedding day...they're given to her by her parents..." (32).

> "...the giving of gifts to the girl when she gets married...they are given for the wedding from her mum and dad..." (7).

A dowry was linked to the ritual of getting married, it was part of the arranged marriage.

> "...a dowry is when the girl gets married, the parents have to buy her lots of things for the house...and they give her lots of other things she needs for when she will be married...she gets it on the day she gets married...it comes with the wedding..." (54).

"...the dowry itself is part of the arranged marriage...you wouldn't have the arranged marriage without the dowry and you wouldn't have the dowry without the arranged marriage...they both go together...it's always been like that for us..." (25).

Some respondents (27%) defined the dowry as gifts that were given to the bride by her parents and her relatives.

"...the whole family wants to give you away properly and so they all get together with all the uncles and aunts you never see and then they give you this large dowry...it's huge and costs them so much...they all get together and discuss it, it's done as a family thing..." (22).

Other respondents (12%) defined dowries as gifts given to the couple, by the bride's parents.

"...the giving of gifts to the couple, by your parents...they give you these things to help you in your married life...they want you to have all the things you need, so you don't have to worry about buying anything...so the couple can be happy..." (49).

A small number of respondents (7%) defined the dowry as gifts given to the groom's family, by the bride's parents.

"...the girl's parents have to give the dowry to the boy's family, to make sure they are satisfied, it's given to them, lots of gifts for their house and for all the people...so they will be happy with the marriage and not complain..." (53).

A minority of respondents (3%) defined the dowry as gifts given to the groom by the bride's parents, or as gifts given to the groom's family by the bride's parents and relatives (3%).

"...when parents have daughters they feel like they have to sell them and so they give the boy (groom) lots of expensive gold, money and maybe even a car when he gets married...they think it will make a difference to how he will treat their daughter...and so they sell her to him..." (18).

"...the groom is the one who has to be made happy and who has to be kept happy and so the parents give him the dowry...so he might respect them..." (34).

Data from participant observation also indicated the ways in which it was parents and in many cases the relatives, who were in control of the dowry. On the eve of a wedding, there was a small celebration at the home of the bride. The mother of the bride displayed a vast number of silk suits, saris, western clothes with matching handbags and shoes as well as jewellery, which included three 24 carat gold sets, a watch and three rings. These were on display for all the elder members of the family to see. The mother of the bride began talking through the items, describing which were to be given to her daughter and which to her future son-in-law and his immediate family. She also included the extent of the 'other' items of the dowry, which would be 'too large' to fit into the room. Later on she told me,

"All this, it's for X (daughter), she's my daughter and we've done it all for her...the silk suits and saris are for her to wear and all the furniture is for her, so that she never goes without..." (M398).[5]

There was great emphasis placed on the dowry given to her daughter to start her new married life. This was also confirmed by other mothers I spoke to.

"If we give our daughters all these things, we feel good about it, we feel we have helped them...and being the mothers of daughters we have to do it..." (M376).

On the wedding day, just before the daughter was to leave the home of her parents and start her new life with her 'new family' in Bradford, a very large van was being loaded with large quantities of gifts and furniture. This I was told was

[5] These references were used from participant observation data and are based upon an identification number of the women I spoke to.

the dowry, which had to leave at the same time as the bride and groom, as it was a symbol of the start of their new life together. Some objects had already been ensconced inside the van, however those I witnessed included: a tv, video, stereo system, microwave, dressing table and a large silver trunk, which I was told, was always traditionally included in the dowry. Inside the trunk was the bride's clothes (all new), shoes and handbags. There were also other items in the van such as pots and pans, dishes, ornaments, kettle and toaster. I asked whether this was considered to be an extravagant dowry.

> "No, it's not really, it's just average it's what most people get...things like a tv and video they're normal everyone gets them and the furniture, the extravagant things are if you get a car or a house...but this sort of things is just normal..." (M230).

The idea of materialism was apparent, not only in the value of the dowry, but in women's appearances at the weddings. All women, (especially the married women), were dressed lavishly and flamboyantly. They wore expensive saris and heavy gold. It seemed every married woman appeared to be wealthy.

> "...weddings are important...it's the only time we can show people what we've got...all our gold and expensive clothes...I do it because it makes me feel good...I like it when people look at me and think she must be rich...none of us are poor, we've all got a gold set, it just depends how big it is...when people see what you're wearing then they might want to marry into your family...and so it's important for us if we do have money..." (M683).

This was obvious with the women who appeared most wealthy, they were wearing extravagant gold sets and some were wearing two or three. Men too were wearing gold bracelets, rings, necklaces, expensive watches and expensive suits. They also drove very expensive cars, such as mercedes or BMW's. Wealth and materialism in South Asian communities is related to respect and status. Those who have greater wealth are those who gain a

superordinate status. These higher groups have *control* and power over lower groups who have less wealth and status. The real measure of wealth is demonstrated by the display of dowries which can increase or decrease the status of 'bride-givers'.

The dowry itself is seen as an avenue for families to enhance and display their social status and economic worth. Parents of brides are able to boost their self esteem through feasts and displays of material objects. The public display of dowries serves as a statement of one's financial position.

Description of Dowry

Dowries generally consist of different types of gifts such as clothes, furniture, jewellery and sometimes maybe even cash payments or larger material items such as a car or a house. Different responses were given for the description of the dowry. Some respondents said the dowry consisted of furniture and money and/or clothes, others said it consisted of just money or jewellery and money. However, all respondents said the dowry was gifts, it just took different forms.

TABLE 5.3 DESCRIPTION OF DOWRY

DESCRIPTION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Furniture + Money	30	50
Furniture + Clothes	23	38
Jewellery + Money	4	7
Money	3	5
TOTAL	60	100

Half of the respondents in the study (50%) described the dowry as furniture and money.

"...the dowry itself consists of a lot of different things, but mainly it's quite a lot of furniture and money that is given...the furniture is things like a fridge, microwave, washing machine, video, bed, tv and all that...it costs a lot of money...then they give cash money as well to the girl...it's a very expensive business..." (13).

Other respondents (38%) described the dowry as furniture and clothes.

"...it's lots of different clothes, very expensive saris and suits for the man as well...as well as that, they have to furnish a house for the bride...and that means all the furniture that you need when you buy a new house...like a sofa set, kitchen things, a bed, tv, video, microwave and much more..." (25).

However, a minority of respondents (7%) described the dowry as jewellery and money or as just money (5%).

"...they just give the bride and groom money, so then they can spend it on what they want to spend it on...and it's their choice...but it's a lot of money though..." (29).

Although 50% of respondents were given a dowry, which they all said was very expensive and worth a lot of money, none were prepared to admit the total cost of the dowry. It is possible the dowry can cost thousands of pounds, ranging from £5,000 to as much as £15,000.

"...I don't want to say how much the dowry cost...I don't think you need to know that...anyway, my parents gave me the best things, so it would probably be a lot of money to you...and you might think my parents are really wealthy, but they're not...they had to give the dowry because they had no choice and they had to make sure I got married properly and in the traditional way us Asian people get married." (7).

Dowries are large gifts, which range from furniture for a whole house (such as a tv, video, bed, wardrobe, washing machine) to gold for the groom and his family and cash. The dowry is not

necessarily given exclusively to the bride, but is given to her for her husband and his family when she is married. It is for their use as much as it is for hers. Being married, qualifies South Asian women to partake of the dowry, in some cases women felt it was their right to partake of the dowry. Men have much to gain from an arranged marriage. They gain a wife as well as a large dowry. The dowry is taken with the wife as she leaves her parents home, to go to her in-laws home. This is significant and indicates the movement of property (which also includes the bride herself).

The amount of dowry parents give, determines to a very large extent on their status in the community. To give a large dowry will increase the prestige of the family, not just by attracting an influential son-in-law, but by determining the family's capacity to give freely without expectation of immediate return. Women are therefore important instruments in the competition for prestige. Indeed, dowry property is not women's wealth, but the wealth that goes with women. Women are the vehicles by which it is transmitted, rather than its owners. Dowry functions to disinherit women and promote their economic dependency on men. A bride does not have, (and historically never had), genuine control over the use and distribution of her dowry. As a result, traditional women when they marry, may suffer considerable harassment and even physical abuse in connection with their roles as bringers of dowry. Furthermore, the expense of providing dowry for daughters is one reason for the relatively intense preference for sons. In some cases, the 'bride-takers' may have an expectation of a rising lifestyle they themselves cannot on their own earning power quite afford, hence the dowry is an attractive source of status-seeking.

Why Dowries are Given

Dowries are given in South Asian communities as they are a recognised custom and tradition which has existed for generations along with the arranged marriage. Most respondents

said dowries were given as they were the custom and tradition in South Asian culture. Dowries enabled parents to achieve respect and parents were able to demonstrate their love and wealth. Other respondents said dowries were given as women were seen as inferior to men; they were sold to men for marriage. Some said, parents wanted to keep the groom and his family happy. Yet others said South Asian people wanted a separate identity, parents wanted to control their daughters or parents were afraid of any change taking place in South Asian culture.

TABLE 5.4 WHY DOWRIES ARE GIVEN

WHY GIVEN	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Custom/tradition	16	27
Separate identity	2	3
Demonstrate love	10	17
Demonstrate wealth	8	13
Parental control	3	5
Achieve respect	11	18
Women inferior	5	8
Fear of change	1	2
Keep men happy	1	2
Sold to men	3	5
TOTAL	60	100

Many respondents (27%) said dowries were given as they were part of the custom and tradition in South Asian culture, they were part of the arranged marriage.

> "It's the culture and it's expected...like the arranged marriage is expected and you don't question it...you know you're going to have an arranged marriage and you know the dowry comes with the arranged marriage...if you didn't have a dowry it would be like getting married without the wedding ring...that's how important it is to us in the culture..." (25).

Some respondents (18%) said parents gave dowries as this enabled them to achieve respect in the community, the larger the dowry, the more respect they would gain.

> "...in our culture, people only respect you if you have money, they think you are a good person...if you don't have money then they don't want to know you...everyone in the community knows how much dowry you give, and so all the parents want to give a large dowry, then other people talk to them and sort of look up to them..." (4).

Other respondents (17%) said dowries were given as parents were able to demonstrate the love they had for their daughters.

> "...parents want to show people that they care about their daughters and they love them...and so they give them the dowry...lots of large gifts and expensive presents so that she has what she needs when she leaves her parent's house...if they (parents) didn't care about her, they wouldn't give her the dowry would they?" (28).

Yet other respondents (13%) said dowries were given so parents could display their wealth to the community.

> "...just to show who has the most money, so they can then show this to all other members of the community and so they think other people will like them, because they have lots of money...rich parents enjoy it all because they can really show people they are rich, and then they are seen as the most important people in the community..." (37).

However, other respondents (8%) said dowries were given as women were regarded as being inferior to men or women were sold to men for marriage (5%) or parents wanted to keep the groom happy (2%).

> "...the dowries are only given for women and not for men because the women are seen as second class citizens compared to the men...men are seen as the kings in our culture...the dowry is just one way of reminding us we're not the same as the men are...and that we have to be sold to men, so that they can keep us..." (18).

> "...it's degrading really, women have to be sold to men otherwise they won't marry them...all the men want to do is marry a woman who has a large dowry and then they will be happy...it's alright for them, they get a wife and they get lots of gifts and money and they don't have to move away from their house to a strange town...parents sell their daughters to men, and the one with the highest price gets the best husband..." (14).

A small percentage of respondents said dowries were given as South Asian people wanted a separate identity (3%), were afraid of any change taking place in the culture (2%) or parents wanted to demonstrate the control they had over their daughters (5%).

> "...Indian people want to be different from other people and so they keep giving the dowry, because it separates us out...we have arranged marriages and we give dowries and people know that and that's how they identify us..." (41).

Parents have to give dowries regardless of their financial situation. These who do not, are heavily stigmatised and those who have little money are left with unmarried daughters. Unmarried daughters are seen as a burden, and their parents are seen as having failed, not only themselves, but the culture and the community.

Women are constantly being judged on their performance as women. They must behave in accordance with cultural rules and so must become marketable (marriageable). They must be trained to be the dutiful wife, so that men will want to marry them. Parents are prepared to spend great amounts on the dowry, as they cannot have an unmarried daughter on their hands. The bigger the dowry, the more offers of marriage the daughter will receive. Unmarried daughters are considered to be failures and parents become stigmatised as they have been unsuccessful in finding a partner for their daughter. It is through these cultural forces that private patriarchy operates, to keep traditional women controlled, dependent and in an inferior

position.

Dowry itself is moveable property made to the husband's family at the wedding day. There are two main principles of authority which underlie the structure of authority in traditional South Asian households, those of seniority and gender. Juniors of either sex are expected to defer to elders and women are expected to defer to men. So, brides as women have little control over the way in which dowry is given and received. The very concept of the bride as a 'gift', implies the idea that she herself can be represented as a kind of property, to be transferred from one family to another. The passivity of the bride in her wedding ritual supports this inference. She is led by her father, brother and the female members of her family.

Dowry favours and is favoured by a cultural ethos in which brides can be viewed as objects to be passed from one social group to another, both as a means for the procreation of children and as vehicles for aspirations to social prestige. So, brides are more controlled by, than controllers of property.

Women identify themselves in some situations as mothers (dowry-givers), and in others as mothers-in-law (dowry-takers), their interests appear forever divided.

There is a traditional lack of female control over family property and marriage arrangements. This is also linked to the association of dowries with the concern of kin groups with maintaining or enhancing social status through marriage. It is important to ensure that control over property remains with the 'bride-givers' before marriage and is passed on to the hands of the 'bride-takers' after marriage. Individual women themselves have limited control over their own dowry.

The Relationship of Women and the Giving of Dowries

In South Asian communities, it is women who are given dowries and not men, as women are regarded as having an inferior status compared to that of men. Most respondents said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women being seen as a burden, having to be looked after, or being sold to men for marriage. Other respondents said dowries were cultural and historical or by giving dowries, parents were able to show the love they had for their daughters.

TABLE 5.5 THE RELATIONSHIP OF WOMEN AND THE GIVING OF DOWRIES

RELATIONSHIP	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Burden/disrespected	13	22
Sold to men	25	42
Have to be looked after	10	17
Cultural/historical	5	8
Parents demonstrate love/duty	7	11
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (42%) said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women being sold to men for marriage.

> "...the reason why Asian women are always treated badly is because of the dowry...they are like property and they get sold to men, it's only men who are allowed to buy them...let's face it, men have more power than women, they always have...otherwise why don't we give dowries for Asian men...they wouldn't put up with that..." (20).

When respondents were asked why dowries were given, only 5% said women were sold to men for marriage (table 5.4), yet when respondents were asked the relationship of women to the giving of dowries, 42% said women were sold to men for marriage (table 5.5). When respondents were asked to think about the reasons

why dowries were given for women and not for men, they were able to make a connection with the relationship between gender and the giving of dowries. However, when asked why dowries were given, respondents were more likely to say dowries were given as they were the custom and tradition in South Asian culture.

Some respondents (22%) said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women being seen as a burden and not being respected.

> "...women are seen differently to the way men are...they are not respected...and nobody wants to have girls because they see them as a burden, because they have to pay them the dowry and keep on giving gifts to the husbands family for the whole marriage lifetime..." (18).

Other respondents (17%) said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women having to be looked after.

> "...when a girl lives with her mum and dad, she is looked after by them and then when she gets married, she is looked after by her husband...so everyone feels they have to look after women, that's why they give them dowries...women are seen to be in need of being looked after, they are weaker than men..." (50).

Yet other respondents (11%) said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon parents showing they cared about their daughters and it was their duty to give the dowry.

> "...the reasons why parents give the dowry is because they think it's their duty to give it...if they didn't give it, people would think they don't care about their daughters and other people would think they were bad parents..." (4).

A minority of respondents (8%) said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon dowries being part of the cultural and historical customs in South Asian communities.

> "...people want to keep on giving the dowries, because that's the way it's always been for us...they don't know any different...and so they want to give them, it's all part of our culture..." (53).

Data from participant observation (wedding ceremonies), indicated South Asian women themselves were seen as objects of beauty. They were dressed flamboyantly in bright, sparkling colours and were adorned in gold. Women's inferior status was evident. I asked why it was women and not men who received the dowry.

> "Men don't get dowries, don't be stupid...women get them because they (men) don't need them, if he's a half decent man someone will want to marry him, if a girl's dark or ugly no man will want to marry her, unless she's got a big dowry..." (M452).

Hence, appearance, colour of skin and looks were considered to be important, more so for women than for men.

> "...if a boy's dark, it doesn't <u>really</u> matter (respondent's emphasis)...but he has to be educated and maybe have so much money...but he'll get married...looks for men aren't that important...but if a girl's dark, everyone will comment and she won't get any proposals...who wants to marry a dark girl, and if she's poor that's worse..." (M586).

Although it did appear that many South Asian women at the wedding were beautiful, not all were fair skinned however. I was told they were able to be married as they presented a large dowry.

> "...when a girl's dark, the parents just give lots and lots of money and a huge dowry...that's what happened for lots of women here..." (M489).

During the marriage ceremony itself, the bride and groom had to walk four times around a holy altar. Each time this happened,

the bride was led by the groom and was not allowed to walk or stand alone. She was also helped up by her female relatives who were sitting beside her, then as she walked, it was as if she was being passed around, by the male members of her family (brothers and male first cousins), as each had to lead her to the next person. I was told,

> "...She (bride) isn't allowed to walk by herself anywhere, it would just be seen as being really bad, people would talk about her and it would just seem really degrading...and then people would say things to her parents and they would loose their 'sharam'...and everyone would think she was too free..." (M908).

The force of shame ('sharam') is powerful for South Asian parents as they have to conform to the standards of South Asian culture. If they break the rules, they will be punished and the price they have to pay is high.

Dowry continues (and will continue in future generations), because 'bride-givers' continue to give them. This may be due to concerns that otherwise a daughter may not be married at all or that the family could not secure an appropriate match. Also, parents of the bride may continue to believe that a lavish dowry will help to secure their daughter's favourable treatment in her in-laws home. They may also feel dowry can be used to overcome disadvantages in the marriage market (such as dark skin colour). It is evident, materialist values lie behind dowry harassment. The issue of the bride's reputation and female purity serves as a link between the institution of dowry, family concerns with status and the perpetuation of socioeconomic classes. Dowries themselves can only be understood in reference to the South Asian culture, which is characterised by patrilineal descent, patrilocality, the joint family and strongly prescribed subservience of wives to husbands and in-laws.

The dowry is one of the major determinants of whom a woman may

expect to marry and of how she will be treated by her in-laws after marriage. What a bride is worth is measured by the amount of material goods and cash her family can provide, rather than by the reputation and prestige with which they can endow her. In consequence, the provision of a dowry involves a great strain on the household and this encourages daughters to be seen as burdens rather than blessings. However, parents who bewail the need to accumulate dowry for a number of daughters are unlikely to bring themselves to refuse it, when the time comes for their son to marry. To a large extent, the goods which enter a household when a man marries are actually substitutes for the goods which must leave it on the marriage of a daughter. Dowry favours and is favoured by a cultural ethos in which brides can be viewed as objects to be passed from one social group to another.

Dowry goes hand in hand with a class system and with maintenance of the superiority of higher groups over lower ones. Superior groups are those who are able to place demands on 'bride-givers', for they have the sons and they are the ones who have greater choice. 'Bride-givers' are in an inferior position as they must get their daughter married at all costs. Hence, they are more likely to present a lavish dowry as an attraction. There is a strong association between dowry transactions and cultural concerns with premarital virginity. Ultimately, the whole complex notion of cultural values centres on female purity and the notion that the honour of male kin groups, rests on the seclusion and sexual purity of its women. This is related to the institution of dowry as an instrument in preserving and perpetuating socioeconomic classes. Women come to be regarded as 'vehicles of property' and lack control over this property. They are also seen as the 'cultural carriers' of the group whose behaviour is closely monitored. Individuals who marry without a dowry would be in a very weak position in their marital home. A marriage without a dowry would reflect badly on the 'izzat' of the bride's parents.

Whether Respondents would give their own Children Dowries

Most parents in South Asian communities would give their own children dowries, as they want to continue the tradition of the arranged marriage and so would be expected to present lavish dowries. Respondents were asked whether they would give their own children dowries. Some respondents said they would give their own children dowries as they wanted to continue the custom and tradition of South Asian culture, wanted their daughters to obey them or they wanted to demonstrate the love they had for their children, these respondents had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry themselves. Other respondents said they would not give their own children dowries as they wanted them to have their own choice in life, women were seen as being inferior to men or they disagreed with the giving of dowries, these respondents had not had an arranged marriage, were not married and were not given a dowry.

TABLE 5.6 WHETHER RESPONDENTS WOULD GIVE THEIR OWN CHILDREN DOWRIES

WOULD GIVE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Continue traditions	24	40
Demonstrate love	3	5
Want daughters to be obedient	3	5
SUB-TOTAL	30	50
WOULD NOT GIVE		
Own choice	10	17
Inferior to men	14	23
Disagree	4	7
SUB-TOTAL	28	47
DON'T KNOW		
Unsure	2	3
TOTAL	60	100
		200

Half of the respondents in the study (50%) said they would give their own children a dowry, all of whom had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Most of these respondents (40%) said they would give their own children a dowry as they wanted to continue the traditions and customs of South Asian culture.

> "...if we keep giving dowries and having arranged marriages, that's the only way we can keep our culture and be proud of our customs...I have a daughter and I will give her a good dowry...but I also have a son and will want to get a dowry for him...it's my right...it works both ways." (43).

A small number of respondents (5%) who had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry said they would give their own children dowries as they wanted their daughters to obey them or the dowry would enable them to demonstrate the love they have for their children (5%).

> "...I want my daughter to do what she is told and that means she will be told who she will marry and she will have a dowry, that's why I feel parents should give the dowry...if you have a son, you get it back when he gets married...it's what you're entitled to, by rights you should give the dowry and you should receive it..." (7).

However, 47% of respondents said they would not give their own children dowries, these respondents had not had an arranged marriage. Most of these respondents (23%) said dowries portrayed women as being inferior to men.

> "...no, I think it's like a payoff...it's an insult to women and they are the ones who suffer in the end and are seen as being worse than men...because people carry on giving dowries, women keep being seen as lower than men and people continue to treat them like that..." (39).

Other respondents (17%) who had not had an arranged marriage said they would not give their children dowries, as they wanted

their children to have their own choice in life.

> "...I don't want to give my daughters dowries...when I have children, I want them to have their own choices in life and make their own decisions...it's their life and they should be allowed to make their own choices..." (35).

Data from participant observation (wedding ceremonies) indicated, parents of unmarried daughters were collecting ideas about their own daughters weddings.

> "...I never thought of having a waiter service, that would be a very good idea on A's wedding (daughter)...then we can all relax and enjoy the wedding...and it would be a good idea to give her money towards a house, so she doesn't have to stay with her mother-in-law for long..." (M981).

By attending a wedding and watching the lavish display of the dowry and other items, this reinforced parents' ideas of encouraging their own children to have an arranged marriage and present them with a dowry. Parents go to great extremes to present a large dowry, the importance of materialism and displaying the dowry is fundamental, for this will bring with *it acceptance. South Asian parents* seek approval, status and respect and feel they deserve it, but they do so at the expense of their daughters. Those who had attended the wedding were very interested to see what the dowry itself consisted of and what other women were wearing. Attendance at weddings reinforced the giving and taking of dowries and the prevalence of the arranged marriage and its relationship to the dowry. Mothers who attended weddings were able to get ideas about their own daughters' weddings and the sorts of things they too would give to their daughter, which they felt would please other people and earn them respect, status and approval in the community.

Dowries for many people were a 'natural' ritual attached to the arranged marriage. They had been in existence for generations

and were part of the identity of South Asian people. They were historical and unlikely to be questioned. To continue giving dowries was a sign of acceptance. The culture is a strong force of social control and the giving of dowries keeps women in their inferior place. Parents themselves are also controlled by the culture and are pressurised to follow the rules of the culture, these acceptable norms of behaviour are passed on to their own daughters. Dowries are one way of closely monitoring women's behaviour. Women are given dowries and so are made to conform. The giving of dowries is a form of social control which is related to women's own South Asian identity and ideas of what it means to be a South Asian woman. The dowry was seen to be unique to South Asian culture, as separating South Asian people from others, their culture was part of their identity. Culture gave South Asian people their source of identity and enabled them to have a secure sense of belonging and security. This was regarded as being a haven from the outside world.

The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment

What difference do religion, education and employment make to women's responses on dowries? To analyse the relationship between variables chi square tests of significance were used (tables 5.7 to 5.10). If chi square was less than .05 the correlation was shown to be highly significant.

Religion

Religion affected whether South Asian women were given a dowry and had an arranged marriage. Moslem women were more likely to have been given a dowry and had an arranged marriage (43%, 13 out of 30), followed by Sikh (30%, 9 out of 30) and Hindu women (27%, 8 out of 30). However, religion did not affect women's attitudes to dowries.

Education

Level of education affected women's attitudes to dowries and whether they had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry.

TABLE 5.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND RESPONDENTS VIEWS ON WOMEN AND THE GIVING OF DOWRIES

	EDUCATION (per cent)							
RELATIONSHIP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
Burden/disrespected	-	-	-	3	8	21	68	22
Sold to men	-	-	-	10	24	56	10	42
Have to be looked after	10	70	20	-	-	-	-	17
Cultural/historical	26	-	74	-	-	-	-	8
Parents demonstrate love/duty	33	-	67	-	-	-	-	12
TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (24 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .00000

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents who said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women being sold to men for marriage were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

Respondents who said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women needing to be looked after and parents demonstrating the love they had for their daughters, had a low level of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications).

TABLE 5.8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND RESPONDENTS VIEWS ON WHETHER THEY WOULD GIVE THEIR OWN CHILDREN DOWRIES

	EDUCATION (per cent)							
OWN CHILDREN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
WOULD GIVE								
Continue traditions	21	11	35	23	10	-	-	40
Demonstrate love	60	-	40	-	-	-	-	5
Want daughters to be obedient	60	-	40	-	-	-	-	5
WOULD NOT GIVE								
Own choice	-	-	-	-	13	87	-	17
Inferior to men	-	-	-	-	-	53	47	23
Disagree	-	-	-	-	35	-	65	7
DON'T KNOW								
Unsure	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	3
TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (36 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .00004

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents who said they would give their own children dowries as they wanted to continue the traditions of South Asian culture had a low level of education (those who had 'O' levels).

Respondents who said they would not give their own children dowries as dowries portrayed women in a negative light were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

Level of education affected respondent's views on dowries. Respondents who were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA) saw dowries as being negative and degrading for women. They had not had an arranged marriage and were not given a dowry. Respondents who had a low level of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications) saw dowries as being positive for women and wanted to continue the tradition of giving dowries. They had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry.

Employment

Women's position in the division of labour affected their attitudes to dowries and whether they had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry.

TABLE 5.9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND RESPONDENTS VIEWS ON THE RELATIONSHIP OF WOMEN AND THE GIVING OF DOWRIES

	OCCUPATION (per cent)								
RELATIONSHIP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
Burden/disrespected	-	-	-	-	12	25	30	33	22
Sold to men	-	-	-	-	35	20	30	15	42
Have to be looked after	9	76	15	-	-	-	-	-	17
Cultural/historical	-	64	14	14	8	-	-	-	8
Parents demonstrate love/duty	10	30	12	12	36	-	-	-	12
TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (28 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .03977

1 = Unemployed housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled manual
4 = Semi-skilled
5 = Non-manual
6 = Semi-professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Respondents who said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women being seen as a burden or being sold to men for marriage, were in high positions in the division of labour (professional, students).

Those who said the relationship of women and the giving of dowries was based upon women needing to be looked after and that dowries were cultural, were in low positions in the division of labour (unemployed housewives, skilled manual).

TABLE 5.10 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND WHETHER RESPONDENTS WOULD GIVE THEIR OWN CHILDREN DOWRIES

	OCCUPATION (per cent)								
OWN CHILDREN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
WOULD GIVE									
Continue traditions	4	54	12	4	26	-	-	-	40
Demonstrate love	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	5
Want daughters to be obedient	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	5
WOULD NOT GIVE									
Own choice	-	-	-	-	-	40	60	-	17
Inferior to men	-	-	-	-	-	20	60	20	23
Disagree	-	-	-	-	30	-	50	20	7
DON'T KNOW									
Unsure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	3
TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (42 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .02326

1 = Unemployed housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled manual
4 = Semi-skilled
5 = Non-manual
6 = Semi-professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Respondents who said they would give their own children dowries as they wanted to continue the traditions of South Asian culture were in low positions in the division of labour (unemployed housewives).

Those who said they would not give their own children dowries as dowries portrayed women in a negative light were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, students).

Respondents who were in low positions in the division of labour (unemployed housewives, skilled manual), saw dowries as positive and would continue the tradition of giving dowries. Those who were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, students), saw dowries as being degrading for women and did not want to continue the tradition of giving dowries.

Traditional and Independent Women

Highly educated respondents were in high positions in the division of labour and portrayed liberal attitudes towards dowries and can be defined as 'independent' women. They saw dowries as being oppressive and degrading for women and were not given a dowry. They experienced public patriarchy outside the household through paid employment.

Women with low levels of education were in low positions in the division of labour and portrayed traditional attitudes towards dowries and can be defined as 'traditional' women. They saw dowries as being positive for women and were given a dowry and experienced a private form of patriarchy inside the household.

CONCLUSION

Through the giving and taking of dowries, private patriarchy manifests itself within South Asian households. Dowries are

part of the arranged marriage. When women participate in arranged marriages, the giving of dowries is presumed and expected. Dowries are defined as gifts that are given by the bride's parents to the groom and his family. Sometimes it is possible the groom's family may ask for certain gifts, but on the majority of occasions the bride's family simply provide a large dowry. The dowry is something which comes with the bride. Dowries are important as they are regarded as being part of the custom and tradition of South Asian culture and South Asian people see the dowry as being part of their unique South Asian identity. Respect is achieved for the bride's parents, as they will be judged on the size of the dowry they present to the groom and his family. Parents feel they must give the dowry as they must conform, to refuse to give a dowry would result in a disapproval from the community and being stigmatised, something South Asian parents would be unable to live with. Male pride ('izzat') cannot be destroyed. The shame ('sharam') would be too great to bear and so parents go to great lengths to give a dowry. On the one hand they have to get their daughter married and on the other, they have to satisfy the community.

Traditionally, dowry marriage seeks to be an ideological denial of reciprocity, because it is the duty of the 'bride-givers' to do this without expecting a return and it is the 'bride-takers' right to be constant recipients. The marriage system is characterised by the existence of an asymmetrical relationship between 'bride-takers' and 'bride-givers'. The former, despite being presented with lavish gifts from the latter, do not face any form of subordination because of their superior status accorded to them within this context. This type of ideology recognises their status of endless receivers of gifts, even long after the marriage process. The bond between the daughter and her parents never ceases and is reaffirmed at every ceremony through the presentation of gifts to her and her husband's kin. The acceptance of such gifts by the 'bride-takers', reflects that of superordinate status, hence dowry marriage is considered to be the most prestigious form of

marriage for 'bride-takers.' Dowry acts as an indicator and enhancer of family status. Dowries are excellent vehicles for pursuing greater levels of status. Families of lower status but superior wealth, can attempt to acquire prestige by arranging marriages with higher status families. By doing so, the 'bride-givers' are able to convert material wealth into high status through the presentation of dowries for the superior 'bride-takers'. Hence, there are connotations of generalised reciprocity, since status is the indirect reward for a supposedly pure gift, for which ideally, the 'bride-givers' should have no expectation of return.

South Asian women are seen as second class citizens, they are not respected and are regarded as being inferior to men. Hence, dowries are only given to women and not to men. In order for South Asian men to marry South Asian women, they must have a price tag attached to them. Women are sold to men for marriage as property. They are considered valueless unless they are attached to a dowry.

Traditional South Asian women are controlled through the giving of dowries, they are attached to a man before marriage (father) and sold to another man for marriage (husband). Men will only marry women they feel will benefit them, hence they marry women who have a large dowry to offer. Cultural forces of acceptable norms of behaviour control traditional South Asian women.

The dowry may be seen as a 'compensation' to the groom's parents for taking on a family member with little or no earning capacity. When the bride takes her dowry to her new home, that of her husband, his parents and family, the dowry itself is in no sense the bride's property, but is under the control of the senior male and female members of the household. The norms regarding relationships within the household, (the ideology of seniority, of male competence, of the distinction between daughters and daughters-in-law), suggests that the dowry property will not be under the control of the woman in whose

name it is given. That does not mean that it will not be controlled by other women, such as the mother-in-law.

Brides are expected to continue the ancestral line by reproducing sons, which ultimately will improve their status. As they become older, traditional women participate more actively in the dowry system as givers of dowry (mothers of brides), or as receivers and redistributors of dowry (mothers of grooms). A certain amount of status can be 'bought' by a girl of undistinguished family who marries into a better family by means of a large dowry. Furthermore, when parents arrange the marriage of their sons, they do not look forward just to the dowry, but to the family's general capacity to give, as they will be constant receivers of gifts for the duration of the marriage relationship. 'Bride-givers', will never be gift receivers. The very concept of the bride as a gift herself, implies the idea that she can be represented as a kind of property to be passed over from one family to another.

The bride's dowry may bring her self-respect and prestige in the household (and community) if her parents have been particularly generous, but it will not of itself bring her economic power. It is possible some brides with recognised earning capacity may be able to marry well with a slightly lower dowry than a bride without such qualifications.

The dowry situation is also compounded by another tradition, the religious and social inferiority of the bride's family to that of the groom. The inferior and subservient position of a wife to her husband is on another level shared by the family who gives her. The subordination and frequently oppressed position of the daughter-in-law is exacerbated by the exclusion and deference of her own kin. As 'bride-takers' this gives them the right to humiliate the bride into accepting an inferior position in the home of her in-laws. The bride however must aim to please her husband and her mother-in-law. With the birth of her own sons, her position will improve. For sons are valued to

continue the patrilineage, serve as heirs, perform important rituals for parents and family and to provide security in old age.

Previous research on dowries (Macleod 1976, Singh 1953, Wilson 1978), has demonstrated the inferiority of 'bride-givers' to that of 'bride-takers'. This was also shown in the present research, where the parents of the groom were accorded a higher status during, before and after the marriage ceremony. They were not asked or expected to present gifts, those they did present were few and for the bride and select members of her family. They were the ones who were waited upon and pleased. If the groom's family were to complain, this would be considered to be disgraceful and damage the 'izzat' of the bride's family. Hence, 'bride-takers' had a higher status than 'bride-givers'. Other research (Bhachu 1985, Westwood 1988), has argued there has been a change in the dowry system with control of the dowry now being in the hands of the daughter-in-law rather than the mother-in-law. However, this was not shown in the present research. It seemed that although in name the dowry was for the daughter, it was controlled by her mother-in-law and other senior members of the groom's family. Hence, women had little or no control over their own dowry.

Previous research has shown, the dowry is a phenomenon which is related to the arranged marriage and has to be examined within the context of the South Asian family structure (Bennett 1983, Camaroff 1980, Tambiah 1972), also that dowry marriage is considered to be the most prestigious form of marriage (Karve 1965, Madan 1965). This has also been shown in the present research where arranged marriages without dowries were uncommon. When dowries were given, this helped to increase the status of 'bride-givers' to that of 'bride-takers' and dowry was associated with the concerns of kinship groups with maintaining or enhancing social status through marriage (Goody 1971, Schlegel 1991).

Early research suggested attitudes towards dowries were changing (Bhachu 1985, Kapadia 1966, Vatuk 1972), however the present research indicates parents continue to give dowries, as much as grooms and their families expect to receive them. Women themselves feel a dowry may help to enhance their status in their in-laws home (Bordewich 1986, Stein 1988), dowry itself is a compensation for their gender. Dowry transactions continue to disadvantage women, especially those who have little or no wealth. Dowry serves to perpetuate different status groups to gain and achieve respect, which for South Asian people is the ultimate reward.

An alternative view of dowries is a demonstration of gender inequality which exists within South Asian households, it links material conditions with cultural norms and prescriptions. Traditional South Asian women who are given dowries, generally have male dominance in relation to productive resources where the primary economic dependence of women is apparent. Traditional South Asian Women must be endowed with property in order to attract husbands of equal or higher rank and their sexuality must be controlled, (female premarital virginity). At the same time the institution of the dowry serves as an instrument in preserving and perpetuating socioeconomic classes. The dowry functions to promote women's economic dependency on men, their fathers and then their husbands. Dowry givers however, compete upwards for scarce grooms, to enhance their own social status. Women are given dowries as they are regarded as being inferior to men. Men are able to pick and choose women they will consider for marriage. Women are sold to men for marriage as property, as arranged marriages include a financial contract in which money and/or material possessions are exchanged. So, women are considered a burden. Dowry links the family with status, the perpetuation of socioeconomic classes and 'izzat' where the bride's sexual purity and reputation are important. So great is the pressure to marry the daughter, that a woman's parents remain in a weak and vulnerable position with respect to dowry harassment. Marriage

of the daughter and presentation of a large dowry are matters of status and family honour.

Traditional South Asian women who participate in arranged marriages and are given dowries have limited resources and access to power. They are economically dependent on the men in the family and do not share in access to new economic opportunities with men. The onus for change lies on the shoulders of the educated, independent South Asian woman, who is learning to use education as a stepping stone to economic independence and is developing an identity of her own. Regrettably, South Asian women are valued for the dowry they will bring and their valuation rests primarily in their being vehicles of property transmission. However, as traditional South Asian women give birth to sons, their position within the marriage may improve and they may climb the ladder of hierarchy which exists in South Asian culture. Being mothers of sons, they too will one day hold a position of power and may demand large dowries. Their female fertility may free them to a certain extent from the patriarchal oppression they face in South Asian households.

6
Domestic Labour

INTRODUCTION

The domestic division of labour within households has been used to explain the subordination of women and the extent to which it is women who perform most, if not all aspects of domestic labour. The allocation of domestic labour in the home continues to be shaped by deeply ingrained ideas about the roles of the sexes. Household tasks continue to be sharply divided by sex. The female is still responsible for routine home and family care, which includes cooking, cleaning and childcare. Domestic labour is a continuing, ongoing process, it remains private, isolated and is the essential responsibility of women. Who does work in the home and how the allocation of domestic labour is perceived combine to form the qualitatively different relationships, which South Asian women and men have to this unique work site, this in turn signifies patriarchal relations for women inside and outside the home.

DOMESTIC LABOUR

Domestic labour can be defined as work activities in households which consist of three components: the general maintenance of the household which includes activities such as cooking and cleaning; childbearing and childrearing which includes the socialisation of children; and finally, looking after the partner. Domestic labour is the web of activities that take place inside households, in which people and households have to be maintained.

Who carries out domestic labour tasks? Which are carried out by the female and which by the male? How many hours per day do males spend on domestic labour? How many hours per day do females spend on domestic labour? Who do respondents feel should carry out domestic labour tasks in the household? Why do women carry out the majority of domestic labour tasks? Is a woman's place in the home? What is the cultural influence of women being housewives? What is the relationship between religion, education, employment and the domestic division of labour? How does participation in domestic labour influence

South Asian women's position within households and forms of patriarchy they experience? Such questions will be explored to examine domestic labour as a contribution to patriarchy within South Asian households.

Who Does What?

Generally speaking, it is women who perform most, if not all aspects of domestic labour, men are less likely to participate and will only do so when it is convenient for them. Respondents were asked three questions concerning domestic labour tasks. Who carries out the domestic labour activity? How often is the activity carried out? Who carried out the activity on the last occasion? These questions were asked to examine whether a discrepancy existed between female reports of who carried out domestic labour and who actually did so on the last occasion.

TABLE 6.1 DOMESTIC LABOUR TASKS

TASK	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH
	(per cent)		
Cooking	-	90	10
Last Occasion	8	92	-
Washing Dishes	-	75	25
Last Occasion	17	83	-
Vacuuming	8	57	35
Last Occasion	8	72	20
Dusting	8	57	35
Last Occasion	8	80	12
Cleaning Oven	8	62	30
Last Occasion	2	90	8
Cleaning Toilet	8	79	13
Last Occasion	-	92	8
Washing Clothes	-	62	38
Last Occasion	23	77	-
Taking Out Rubbish	47	8	40
Last Occasion	60	8	32
TOTAL	N = 60 (100%)		

Three different families were shown to exist in the study. The 'traditional' family consists of women who have had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. The 'co-habiting' family consists of women who were living with their partners, (but were not married to them). There was also the 'single' family, which consists of women who were single (not married), some of whom were without partners and others who were with partners,

but were not living with them. Traditional women were in 'traditional' families and independent women were in 'co-habiting' or 'single' families. Most activities were carried out exclusively by females, (regardless of family type). The majority of women (92%) cooked the breakfast, lunch and dinner and performed this activity on the last occasion. The majority of women also did the cleaning, washing and vacuuming and did so on the last occasion. Activities such as cleaning the oven and toilet were carried out exclusively by the female, all women performed these activities regularly and did so on the last occasion. However, a small minority of men (9%) who were in 'co-habiting' or 'single' families participated in washing clothes.

Childcare was also an activity that was female. All married women with children in the study carried out childcare activities (47%). However, changing the plugs (36%), gardening (36%) and taking out the rubbish (60%) were male activities, all regularly performed by men.

Men and women participated in different domestic labour tasks. Women referred to male participation as 'helping' behaviour and their own behaviour was one of responsibility. Domestic labour is regarded as a female activity where men 'help' the woman with what is considered to be her role. Furthermore, men were more likely to participate in the 'clean' tasks of domestic labour, such as playing with children, drying dishes, dusting and vacuuming and did so only when it was convenient for them. Whilst women were more likely to perform the 'dirtier' tasks of domestic labour, such as cleaning the bathroom, toilet and changing the nappies. There exists a segregation of 'his' and 'her' tasks. Men perform tasks they can typically perform whenever they choose, whereas the tasks women perform are more immediate.

How Much?

Women spend more time actually performing domestic labour tasks and take pride in what they are doing. Men however, spend considerably less time performing domestic labour tasks. Women, (from all family types), spent more time on domestic labour than men. The number of hours spent on domestic labour by women varied from one to eight hours per day, whereas the number of hours spent on domestic labour by men varied from none to four hours, (only a small minority of men spent four hours performing domestic labour tasks per day).

TABLE 6.2 NUMBER OF HOURS SPENT ON HOUSEWORK PER DAY

NUMBER OF HOURS	MALE (per cent)	FEMALE
None	54	-
Under 1 Hour	24	-
1-2 Hours	18	8
3-4 Hours	4	42
5-6 Hours	-	40
7-8 Hours	-	7
Don't Know	-	3
TOTAL	N = 60 (100%)	

There was a significant difference in the number of hours spent on domestic labour by men and women. Women spent more time performing domestic labour tasks than men. A minority of women (7%) spent between 7 and 8 hours a day performing domestic labour tasks. These women were from 'traditional' families.

> "...it's what I do all day...it's really what my job in life is, what else can I do? I have to make sure the house is clean, the food is cooked and my husband and children are looked after...that all takes a long time and I can spend up to 8 hours doing all the housework, sometimes I do more...but what else would I do...it's what I have to do...I don't mind, I want to look after my family..." (42).

Some women (40%) spent between 5 and 6 hours a day performing domestic labour tasks.

> "I think when you start to clean up, you don't realise how much time you've spent on it and then you realise that 5 hours have gone by and it's midnight...it's difficult having two jobs, it makes it harder, because it all gets left to me and I know if I don't do it, then the house would just be a pigsty...it has to be done...housework is one thing you just can't ignore and get away from..." (28).

Most women however (42%), spent between 3 and 4 hours a day on domestic labour tasks. These respondents did not think 3 or 4 hours of their time was a great amount, even though many of them went to work everyday.

> "...I try and get it all done in about 4 hours if I can, and that isn't that long...when you start cleaning up, the time goes by very quickly...I think I should spend more time on it, but I think I cut corners to get it done...housework is not something that I enjoy very much...it's a chore that has to get done...it can't be left alone and forgotten about..." (9).

A minority of women (8%) spent between 1 and 2 hours a day performing domestic labour tasks. These women were from 'single' families.

> "We share the housework and we both do a bit...I do about one hour and that's all...sometimes it varies and I do more...but I don't do that much...I know some women spend all night doing the housework, I just think they must get so tired and so I do the least I need to do..." (13).

Women were also asked how much time their husbands/partners spent on domestic labour tasks. A minority of women (4%) reported that their husbands/partners spent between 3 and 4 hours a day performing domestic labour tasks. These men were from 'co-habiting' families.

"...I feel very fortunate that my partner is like a 'new man' because he realises that men have to do more round the house, because he can't rely on me all time...and I want him to be independent and not have to wait for me to come home before he can eat something...he's an adult and should behave like one, instead of wanting to be looked after all the time..." (32).

Some women (18%) reported that their husbands/partners spent between 1 and 2 hours a day performing domestic labour tasks. These men were from 'single' families.

"...to tell you the truth, he doesn't like doing the housework and I know he only does it to please me, because if he didn't, I would just give him a very hard time and he would hate that...he just wants a quite life and doesn't want me to nag him...and so he does it...but then if I didn't nag him, I would be the servant around here..." (14).

Other women (24%) reported that their husbands/partners spent under one hour per day performing domestic labour tasks. These men were from different family types.

"...men get away with as much as they can...they are so lazy and don't want to do the housework, they don't think they should...when he does about an hour, which the most he will ever do, he thinks he's done so much and goes on and on about it, he forgets about the fact that I do much more than him...and I'm never allowed to complain, and when I do, he thinks I'm just moaning about nothing..." (57).

However, the majority of women (54%) reported that their husbands/partners did not spend any time performing domestic labour tasks. These men were from 'traditional' families.

"...huh! He doesn't spend any hours or minutes doing the housework, he says his job is to go to work and mine is to make sure the house and kids are clean and to be a good cook...he always says he would divorce me if I was a bad cook, because I have to do all the cooking for him..." (48).

> "...I think that's a funny question...and you should know the answer to it...my husband doesn't do anything...and he never would...our men don't do that kind of thing, they'd be laughed at...anyway, it's women's work, it's what we do best isn't it? I don't think I want my husband to do it anyway...he'd be seen as a bit of an sissy if he did it, I want my husband to be a real man...don't you?" (44).

Even though some respondents reported their husbands/partners participated in domestic labour tasks, this was not to a significant extent. In comparison to female participation (up to 8 hours per day), male participation was considerably low (up to 4 hours per day). Yet the women felt this was enough, it was something that was 'better than nothing'.

The question whether or not women's increased participation in the labour market has brought about a renegotiation of gender roles and responsibilities within households indicates household work still belongs to women. There are few egalitarian households and gender inequality in households has not been achieved. Furthermore, gender differences in households are seen as disadvantageous because they further inhibit gender equality outside the home. It is women's employment that suffers, they are the ones who have to make adjustments in their schedules in order to balance both paid work and domestic work. It is possible that for some women and men, motherhood and fatherhood may be distinct activities and identities at certain times in the cycle of parenting, as well as in the cycle of a particular child's life. The distinction between routine and non-routine work varies tremendously between men and women, and in both cases are seen as 'chores' to be carried out for daily living. Women who worked were caught in the tension between work and home, between their own needs and those of their husband and children and also the expectations of their culture. These women had to 'juggle' their lives. There was an indication women were 'bad mothers' if they left their children with others. Women are not only influenced by the ideological factors of being a full-time

mother, but cultural factors. Ideological norms and cultural values penetrate and shape individual women's experiences.

For women, it appears there are patriarchal and ideological difficulties in claiming personal time. For women with families, the 'dual burden' will continue to exist and women with families will not be able to spend time on themselves. Personal time becomes lost in domestic time.

Married women who had an arranged marriage, performed all domestic labour tasks ('traditional' families). They emphasised two separate roles for men and women: homemaker and breadwinner. The division of roles was considered to be part of South Asian culture and 'natural' behaviour for men and women. Married women retain a certain traditionalism in response to their own ambivalence about new gender roles.

Who Should do the Housework?

It is women who perform the majority of domestic labour tasks in South Asian households. Men do not participate to a significant extent. Most respondents said there should be an equal sharing of roles within households, yet their own situation did not reveal this. Others, said women should perform domestic labour, either because it was women's role, or because women were more capable of performing this role or if women were at home, then they should perform all domestic labour tasks.

TABLE 6.3 WHO SHOULD DO THE HOUSEWORK

WHO	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
WOMEN		
Female Role	9	15
Female more capable	6	10
If Female at home	4	7
TOTAL	19	32
BOTH		
Equal Sharing	41	68
TOTAL	60	100

A total of 32% of respondents said it was women who should do the housework in South Asian communities. These respondents *were from 'traditional' families. A number of reasons* were given for this. Most respondents (15%) said women should do the housework because being the housewife was the female's role.

> "I think I should do the housework and I know this and so I just get on with it...at the end of the day it has to be done and it's me that has to do it...it's my role in life and so I have to do it...women everywhere in the world do the housework, it's our role that we have to do...men do one thing and we do the other..." (28).

> "...I do it, because I have to do it...we have different things we do...my husband is the one who goes out to work and I am the one who stays at home to do the housework...it would be stupid if he had to worry about doing the housework, wouldn't it?" (48).

Other respondents (10%) said women were more capable of performing this role.

> "...we have to do it, we're better at it than they (men) are and we know what we're doing...my husband doesn't know what to do, he can't cook, as a woman I know what to do in the kitchen...it's like it's inbred in us, we know what to do in the kitchen..." (24).

A minority of respondents (7%) said if women stayed at home, they should do the housework.

> "...if men work and women stay at home, they can't expect the men to come home and do the housework for them...one should do one job...if the women are at home and are housewives, I don't think there's anything wrong with her doing the housework and looking after the family...that's why she's at home isn't she?" (47).

However, the majority of respondents (68%) said both partners should do the housework and there should be an equal sharing of roles. These women were from all three families, but most were from 'co-habiting' or 'single' families.

> "...I think we should both do it, because we both live in the house and so we should both make an effort...but it never works like that...if I ask him to help me, he just says I'm nagging him...it would be good if I came home one day and the food was cooked for me...but it's not just the cooking it's all the other stuff I have to do that makes me tired...like the washing up and the hoovering..." (32).

Many women from 'traditional' families did not want their husbands to participate in domestic labour, they saw it as an *'unnatural' and 'unmanly' thing to do*. It was regarded as obscene for men to participate. This was seen as breaking the traditional rules which existed for men and women in South Asian culture. The kitchen is the female's domain, men do not need to participate in the kitchen and see the world of work as their domain. In these respondents' minds there existed a clear demarcation and division of roles, one for the wife and one for the husband. It was highly unlikely that these roles would be interrelated or fused together. For men being involved in domestic labour was unacceptable, it was an 'unmanly' thing to do. If men participated in domestic labour, they were regarded as losing power and lacking male authority and control. Although some women from 'traditional' families felt men and women should both participate in domestic labour, their own situation did not reveal this, as they were the primary

domestic labourers. There existed a discrepancy between what women wanted in their ideal situation and what existed in reality. The perfect situation would include men taking on a more participatory role, 'helping' with the cooking and cleaning, yet it was a role they knew traditional South Asian men would not want to take on.

Women's position within households and their background affects their relations to men and it is through these relationships that private patriarchy is formed and defined. Women remain primarily responsible for the smooth running of the home and the achievement and comfort of orderliness in the domestic arena, despite the willingness of men to 'help' with these tasks. South Asian women are the primary 'doers' in the kitchen, in which they organise the domestic sphere. The woman's role is so geared to meeting the needs of her family, that the identification of her own needs separate from theirs, becomes blurred.

The relationship between the female identity, the feminine stereotype and the cultural standards for women combine to form specific roles for South Asian women. The kitchen is the symbol of women's domesticity and the identities and activities outside the kitchen are in turn, influenced and defined by their domesticity. Custom and tradition have clearly defined women's role.

Why Women do the Housework in South Asian Communities

Women perform domestic labour in South Asian communities, as it is a role that is expected of them. It is considered to be a female role based upon women's 'natural' attributes. Women are expected to be the homemakers and men the breadwinners. The majority of respondents said, women did the housework in South Asian communities as it was part of their socialisation and culture or it was a natural and instinctive role for women. Other respondents said it was the maternal training women received and a very small minority said it was the religious

influence which enabled women to become housewives.

TABLE 6.4 WHY WOMEN DO THE HOUSEWORK IN SOUTH ASIAN COMMUNITIES

REASON	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Maternal Training	11	18
Socialisation/Culture	25	42
Natural/Instinctive	23	38
Religious Influence	1	2
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (42%) said women did the housework in South Asian communities due to the socialisation and cultural influence they received.

> "...it's the way the culture makes them and it's the way they've been brought up...they are the ones who are taught how to cook all the foods and the boys just go out to play and enjoy themselves...later on this is reinforced and women are expected to be really good cooks and good at everything in the home...and if they're not, nobody wants to marry you...because you have to be good in the home..." (23).

> "...there are certain things that are expected from our culture and so we are brought up to follow them, like how to do the housework and how to cook...as women you know that's the way you should behave...it's what it means to be a woman, if you said you couldn't cook, people would think there was something wrong with you and they would laugh at you..." (27).

Some respondents (38%) however, said women did the housework as it was a natural and instinctive role for them.

> "...I think it's because we're made to believe that it's instinctive and that it's natural for us to do it and because it's what is expected of us...and because we're women we have to be good cooks and good mothers..." (55).

Other respondents (18%) said women did the housework as it was

the maternal training they received.

> "...it's the mothers...they want their daughters to be so much like them, so they can be proud of them...and not feel like failures...then they've succeeded in what they've always hoped and wanted for their daughters...Asian mothers want their girls to be good trained housewives and mothers...then they will get lots of offers of marriage and men will want to marry them..." (60).
>
> "...being a woman you want to be like your mother and she brings you up to be like her...she wants you to be good at cooking and keeping house...and she makes sure you know how to do these things...but that's related to getting married...you learn all the skills of your mother and she's learnt them from her mother...and when you have a daughter you'll pass them onto her..." (1).

Gender norms delineate the specific behaviours and personal attributes deemed socially desirable for women in South Asian culture. Gender norms in South Asian culture assign female behaviours and attributes that are of low social esteem and more importantly, those that function to reinforce the gender divisions of labour and male dominance. Masculine norms in South Asian culture stress traits that are defined as socially valued and those associated with dominance. The very assignment of a trait of behaviour to masculinity enhances its social value. So, men are more likely to be treated as individuals rather than as representatives of a gender. Male power in South Asian culture results in social definitions that support the gender division of labour and reinforce their power and prestige, hence it is considered 'unmanly' for South Asian men to participate in domestic labour. Men can use their power individually at the micro level and collectively at the macro level, to create social and interpersonal definitions that justify their superior position.

Is a Woman's Place in the Home?

In South Asian culture, a woman's place is considered to be in the home. It is women who are expected to stay at home, perform domestic labour tasks and look after the children and their

husband. They are expected to be the primary caregivers and homemakers. This is a role that is not expected of men, they are expected to be the main breadwinners. If women do not take on the role of caregiver and homemaker, they are considered to be 'bad mothers' and 'bad women' and South Asian culture will punish them for this. Most respondents said a woman's place was not in the home and a number of reasons were given for this; women should have a choice and be independent, the home traps and imprisons women or women should have a career. However, even though some respondents felt a woman's place was not in their home, their own situation revealed that it was. Other respondents indicated a woman's place was in the home, as women should look after the home and children or it was the cultural expectation imposed upon women in South Asian culture.

TABLE 6.5 IS A WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE HOME

IN THE HOME	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
YES		
To look after home/children	19	32
Cultural expectation	4	7
SUB TOTAL	23	39
NO		
Choice/Independence	21	35
Traps/Imprisons women	5	8
Career/Job satisfaction	11	18
SUB TOTAL	37	61
TOTAL	60	100

A total of 61% of respondents said a woman's place was not in the home. A number of reasons were given for this. Most respondents (35%) said women should have a choice in their lives, if they wanted to be independent.

> "...I think women should have a choice in their lives and be allowed to do what they want to do, and not what the culture or other people want her to do...if she wants to be independent she should allowed to be so..." (56).

Other respondents (18%) said women should have a career and achieve job satisfaction.

> "...why should women stay at home? Because men want them to, women should go out and get a job and get some kind of job satisfaction from their lives...then they will realise there is more they can do, than be just a housewife..." (32).
>
> "...Women should go out to work, this will give them a goal to aim towards and then they will feel good and better about themselves...if they are a housewife, they don't feel so good about themselves..." (45).

A minority of respondents (8%) said the home trapped and imprisoned women.

> "...the home makes women become confined, because they feel they can no longer get out and it's all a vicious circle for them...once they stay in the home, they end up staying like that forever...it just traps women..." (39).

However, 39% of respondents said a woman's place was in the home. These respondents were from 'traditional' families. A number of reasons were given for this. Most respondents (32%) said women's role in society was to look after the home and children.

> "...it is and it should be...she's the one who has the children and she's the one who has to breast feed them, and so she should stay at home and be the housewife and look after all the things in the house that need to be looked after..." (7).
>
> "...if a woman has young children, she should look after them, she shouldn't give them to other people...she's the mother and she should stay at home to look after the home and her family..." (22).

A minority of respondents (7%) said a woman's place was in the

home, due to cultural expectations.

> "...men are expected to be one way and women are expected to be another...Asian people want their daughters to be good at cooking and want them to be able to look after the children...it's a cultural thing for us...men would never be seen to be doing these things..." (47).

Domestic labour is considered as 'women's work' and one that men do not want to participate in as they see it as infringing upon their roles as 'men'. Married women in 'traditional' families said having these different roles for the sexes worked best, men were not expected to participate in domestic labour, it was not their role. Even though some men offered 'help' in households, the household was still considered to be the 'woman's sphere' and a core domain of female domestic activity. Domestic labour itself is obscured by devaluation, invisibility and fragmentation.

The Cultural Influence of Women being Housewives

South Asian culture expects women to be housewives. Women are expected to look after the home and the family, this is their primary role in life. The culture socialises women to learn to accept and perform this role adequately. Such behaviour is then passed on to daughters who are expected to be 'happy homemakers'. Men are not expected to perform this role. If they did, they would be laughed at and no longer seen as 'real men'. Most respondents said the cultural influence of women being housewives was based upon this being the natural and best role for women. Others said it was cultural expectations or the maternal influence women received.

TABLE 6.6 THE CULTURAL INFLUENCE OF WOMEN BEING HOUSEWIVES

CULTURAL INFLUENCE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Cultural Expectations	16	27
Natural/Best Role for women	37	62
Maternal Influence	7	11
TOTAL	60	100

The majority of respondents (62%) said the cultural influence of women being housewives was based upon this role being considered natural and the best role for South Asian women.

> "...women's role as housewives is just seen as a natural role for Asian women to take...just because they are women, they are seen as being naturally good with children and naturally good cooks, and if you're not that way, then you're not seen as a real woman..." (11).

> "...the best role for women is to be a housewife, then women have succeeded in Asian society, because they have to bring up the children and look after the house...when they can do that well, then they can be successful in life...an Asian woman's role in life is to be a good wife, if she goes to work, people think you're really bad and think you should be with your children and looking after your husband..." (38).

Other respondents (27%) said it was cultural expectations which encouraged women to take on the role of housewife.

> "...to be a good woman in our culture, you have to be a good housewife and you have to be a good mother... that's how people judge you and that's if they decide you are a nice person or not...it's what the culture expects of you as a woman...this is something you should know..." (40).

A minority of respondents (12%) said it was the maternal influence women received which encouraged women to take on the role of housewife.

> "...women are influenced by the women in their lives and their mothers want them to be good at the things they're good at, this is because they want them to be married, and so when men know women can cook and keep house they will want to marry them..." (12).

Domestic labour is reinforced for women in the culture as it is considered to be a feminine, 'natural' role. The socialisation and culture expects South Asian women to be a certain way and it is through mothers that these roles are reinforced. Mothers train their daughters and bring them up to be a specific way.

They must be able to cook, clean and perform housewifely duties, it is in this role they are judged. The culture expects women to behave in this way, as this is a role which is considered to be 'natural' for women.

Men are not expected to participate in domestic labour, it is a role that is not expected of them and one which is considered to be 'unmanly'. The socialisation men and women receive trains them to be a certain way. By men not participating in domestic labour and not being expected to, this reinforces the force of private patriarchy which operates to keep women in a powerless position.

Men are free from the socialisation mothers provide for their daughters and so are able to work outside the home and escape the expectations imposed upon women. Maternal influence was regarded to be a powerful force in the culture and influenced women becoming and taking on the feminine role of the housewife. Some respondents saw mothers as strong figures who had power. This power however, was limited. It only existed in the domains of the home. Mothers were able to take complete control of their daughters and strongly influenced their role in the culture. The mother's role was taken to be an example and mothers wanted daughters to follow and obey them. They were trained to be 'good housewives', which in turn would prepare them to become 'good wives and mothers'. Mothers trained their daughters to follow specific cultural standards, these would prepare them for housewifely and maternal duties. The specific ways of performing domestic labour were passed on from mother to daughter, these ways were reinforced as being essential to the socialisation of daughters and the roles expected of them. Cultural influence intervenes to construct notions of motherhood and to set standards for women's lives.

Other respondents however, felt mothers had some power, but it was limited, as they were constantly obeying their husbands and their culture. They <u>allowed themselves</u> to be controlled by men

and the cultural norms of acceptable behaviour.

The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment

What difference do religion, education and employment make to women's responses on domestic labour? To analyse the relationship between variables chi square tests of significance were used (tables 6.7 to 6.10). If chi square was less than .05 the correlation was shown to be highly significant.

Religion

Religion did not affect respondent's views on domestic labour. Domestic labour was considered to be a female activity and was related to cultural practices in South Asian communities. It was not seen as being a religious phenomenon. Domestic labour was something which applied to all women in all South Asian societies, their religious background did not influence whether they were the primary domestic labourers.

Education

Level of education affected respondent's views on domestic labour.

TABLE 6.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WHO RESPONDENTS FELT SHOULD DO THE HOUSEWORK

	EDUCATION (percent)							
WHO	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
WOMEN								
Female Role	33	-	67	-	-	-	-	15
Female more capable	33	17	17	33	-	-	-	10
If Female at home	25	-	50	25	-	-	-	7
BOTH								
Equal Sharing	2	2	10	18	10	36	22	68
COLUMN TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (18 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.00033

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents who said women should be the domestic labourers in South Asian culture had low levels of education (those who had no qualifications or 'O' levels). Respondents who said there should be an equal sharing of roles were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

TABLE 6.8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WHETHER RESPONDENTS FELT A WOMAN'S PLACE WAS IN THE HOME

IN THE HOME	EDUCATION (per cent)							
YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
To look after home/children	37	5	42	16	-	-	-	32
Cultural expectation	-	-	50	-	-	50	-	7
NO								
Choice/Independence	-	4	14	-	24	29	29	35
Traps/Imprisons women	-	-	-	-	20	40	40	8
Career/Job satisfaction	-	-	27	9	-	55	9	18
COLUMN TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (24 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.00095

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents *who said a woman's place was in* the home had low levels of education (those who had CSE's or 'O' levels). Respondents who said a woman's place was not in the home were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA).

Employment

Women's position in the division of labour affected their views on domestic labour.

TABLE 6.9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND WHO RESPONDENTS FELT SHOULD DO THE HOUSEWORK

WHO	OCCUPATION (per cent)							
WOMEN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 ROW TOTAL
Female Role	-	-	56	33	11	-	-	- 15
Female more capable	-	17	49	17	17	-	-	- 10
If Female at home	50	25	-	25	-	-	-	- 7
BOTH								
Equal Sharing	5	-	12	12	22	20	2	27 68
COLUMN TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18 100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (21 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.00408

1 = Unemployed housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled manual
4 = Semi-skilled
5 = Non-manual
6 = Semi-professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Respondents who said women should do the housework in South Asian culture were in low positions in the division of labour (non-employed housewife, skilled manual). Those who said there should be an equal sharing of roles were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, *students*).

TABLE 6.10 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND WHETHER RESPONDENTS FELT A WOMAN'S PLACE WAS IN THE HOME

IN THE HOME	OCCUPATION (per cent)							
YES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 ROW TOTAL
To look after home/children	11	5	47	21	16	-	-	- 32
Cultural expectation	-	-	-	25	50	-	-	25 7
NO								
Choice/Independence	5	-	14	10	14	24	-	33 35
Traps/Prisons women	-	-	20	-	20	20	-	40 8
Job satisfaction	9	-	9	18	27	18	10	9 18
COLUMN TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18 100

CHI SQUARE VALUE (28 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.02398

1 = Unemployed housewife
2 = Self-employed
3 = Skilled manual
4 = Semi-skilled
5 = Non-manual

6 = Semi-professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Respondents who said a woman's place was in the home were in low positions in the division of labour (unemployed housewives, skilled manual). Those who said a woman's place was not in the home were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, students).

Level of education and position in the division of labour affected respondent's views on domestic labour. Highly educated respondents (those who had a BA or MA) were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, students), they saw domestic labour as a shared activity. Respondents who had low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications) were in low positions in the division of labour (unemployed, skilled manual), they saw domestic labour as being the prime responsibility of women.

Traditional and Independent Women

Women with low levels of education (those who had no qualifications or 'O' levels) were in low positions in the division of labour (manual, semi-skilled) and can be defined as 'traditional' women. They carried out the majority of domestic labour tasks and experienced private patriarchy inside the household.

Highly educated women (those who had a BA or MA) were in high positions in the division of labour (professional, semi-professional) and can be defined as 'independent' women. They were more likely to share domestic labour tasks with their husband/partners and experienced a more public form of patriarchy outside the household.

CONCLUSION

In South Asian culture, it is women who perform the majority of domestic labour tasks, men do not participate to a significant extent. Women who worked were still more likely to perform the majority of domestic labour tasks. Employed women carry the burden of double labour, (paid work and domestic work). Women contribute to the family income, but men do not contribute to family domestic labour. Married women's employment does not prompt a significant rise in domestic involvement on the part of husbands/partners. Receipt of a wage does not necessarily lead to a significant reduction of women's domestic role.

There is generally low worth placed on women's work inside the home, there is a notion that women themselves devalue work in their private world. Women's role inside the home was regarded as being secondary to men's role outside the home. This was demonstrated by respondents saying no special skills or training were needed to be a housewife, they defined their own role as 'just a housewife'. Furthermore, housework itself was overwhelmingly exhausting, isolating and monotonous for women. The private work in the home is separate from the public affairs of the world, leaving many women with a sense of alienation and distance that can be oppressive. A real pressure underlying the work of the homemaker is lack of validation. The work is private, there is no audience behind the family and the work is personalised for the family members to rate it as they please. The closer the work women do is to the activities of nurturing, comforting, encouraging or facilitating interaction, the more closely associated it is with women's 'natural' or 'feminine' proclivities.

For women who were homeworkers, a distinction between the workplace and the home did not exist. They worked, looked after the children and performed domestic labour tasks in the home environment. Both spheres become related, the public world of work based on economic relations and the private world of the family household, based on love relations. Homeworkers felt

they had the 'best of both worlds'. They did not feel disadvantaged in any way, they were able to perform domestic labour and work at the same time. They felt in complete control.

The three questions asked on domestic labour provided to be useful. Who carried out the activity? How often? Who did so on the last occasion? In some cases, there were discrepancies between who was said to regularly carry out the domestic labour activity and who did so on the last occasion. There were some contradictions in responses. When asked who should do the housework, most respondents felt both partners should do so, yet their own situation revealed it was women who carried out the majority of domestic labour tasks. When asked whether they felt a woman's place was in the home, many respondents said a woman should have a career, yet their own situation did not reveal this. Most women expressed their views on the way things should be in the home, for them both partners participating in domestic labour was an ideal situation, but one they felt would never be achieved.[6] There existed a contradiction between what respondents wanted and what happened in reality.

The home and the kitchen are the traditional woman's domain, it is her arena and she must look after it. The female must participate in domestic labour as a career, men do not participate in domestic labour to a significant extent. Private patriarchal control and power is indicative of power relations within the family; for example women may have some form of power and control within the kitchen, but this power is limited. They may be able to decide which meals to cook, but this has to be agreed by their husband/partner. Ways of organising meals, for example, become based on custom and habit. Food practices can be regarded as one of the ways in

[6] This brings us to issues of 'real' research. Did the respondents want to be portrayed in a particular light, (as they were confronted by a South Asian woman), and so reported responses they felt I wanted to hear? Did the respondents report favourable answers? Such issues of difference (age and educational status) and similarity ('race' and gender) between the respondents and myself are discussed elsewhere (Chapter 3 - Methodology).

which important social relations and divisions are symbolised, reinforced and reproduced on a daily basis. Cooking is regarded as being a reflection or a presentation of women's worth, if she does it well she is judged to be not only a good cook, but also a good wife and mother. If she does not do it well, she is failing. The relations of power which characterise the family are reproduced through the provision or consumption of the meal. Through the provision of these meals, women are confirmed in their ideologically defined position as housewives and providers of food for others. Their subordinate position in relation to men within the family is reproduced on a daily basis, through patriarchal relations and patriarchal control. The needs of the family and children are always put first, whereas women's need are considered secondary.

The gender division of labour was seen as something which was historically and socially determined. Gender is an important factor in determining whether women and men discourage their own children from helping with cooking and other domestic labour tasks. The social relations and gender division of labour within which these processes take place, reveal that women's responsibilities are very circumscribed.

In the study there existed three different families. The 'traditional' family, those who had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. These women lived with their husbands and children, (and in some cases with their extended family). In this family, domestic labour was considered to be the female's role, she was the one who performed it and there existed a segregation of roles, one for the male (breadwinner) and one for the female (homemaker). If women worked, they were expected to perform 'dual roles'. The 'co-habiting' family consisted of women who were not married, but were living with their partners. In this family, the partner participated in some aspects of domestic labour and both partners were more likely to work full-time. The 'single' family consisted of women who were either single (without partners), or single (with

partners, but not living with them). Single women carried out their own domestic labour activities and single women (with partners), said their partners 'helped' them some of the time. These families consisted of independent women. There is a degree of difference in domestic labour between independent and traditional women. Traditional women perform most, (if not all), domestic labour tasks and independent women indicate a movement towards a sharing of domestic labour tasks.

These families are the sites where culture and private patriarchy are reproduced, where women are able to retain their autonomy and existence, but at the same time adhere to the structure and cohesive atmosphere where all members of households are aware of their roles, rights and obligations towards other members of households.

Women perform domestic labour and men do not to a significant extent. Various forms of patriarchy exist in South Asian households. One involves the power and control by men, which is patriarchy for traditional women (private). A second is a more subtle form, which signifies some form of control by men, but one which women are aware of and trying to change. This form of patriarchy is experienced by independent women (public patriarchy).

Married women are economically dependent upon men and men are dependent upon women for performing domestic labour in households for them. Women's biological role in childbearing and their cultural role in childrearing, has an influence upon their position in households and ways in which cultural dictations reinforce patriarchal relations.

Level of education and position in the division of labour affected women's position in households and whether they were defined as traditional or independent. The more educated the woman, the more likely she will be geared towards independent values and beliefs, demonstrating greater control over her

life. Traditional women see themselves as 'good' women and are respected for being obedient, as this is the way women should behave in the culture. Cultural dictation is a strong controlling force for the position of South Asian women.

There is an indication that younger more educated women in the sample held different views to older women. In terms of domestic labour, they saw it as something that was more likely to be shared and not as a regular chore. Women want to maintain their cultural identity, but also want to be more in control of their lives. For example, they argued that living with their partners was not wrong, it was what they wanted to do and it was a sign of the times. Traditional women however, do not want to change, they want to hold on to the traditional ways of being and living in South Asian culture and see change as being dangerous and regard it as rebelling against the culture. In both cases, although independent women may be trying to change, the force of patriarchy is still present, it just exists in different forms for different women.

7
Domestic Finance

INTRODUCTION

Participation in domestic finance is influenced by the distribution of power within the home. Power may derive from earning capacity and this raises the question as to whether women's earnings increase their power within the home. It seems not, women fashion their paid work to accommodate their unpaid labour in the home. Married women's earnings in 'traditional' families are seen as somehow secondary, as a supplementary or luxury income, rather than as a necessity. The trinity of 'wife, mother and housewife', is pervasive in that it structures the opportunities and experiences of married women and dominates their social identity. Their role within the home limits the freedom they may have outside of it and helps to sustain their social and economic dependency on their husbands. Wives remain financially dependent on their husbands even when they themselves are employed, they lack the economic freedom that his work gives him. Wives tend to be encapsulated in the private domestic sphere more so than their husbands. However, in the 'co-habiting' family, both partners have equal access to household income and both are responsible for the management of and expenditure from a common pool. In the 'single' family, women make their own decisions on how to spend their money.

DOMESTIC FINANCE

Examining domestic finance is an indication of one of the ways power is distributed in households and reflects the relationship between a woman's earnings and her control. It is generally assumed women's earnings increase their power in households and control over financial organisation. Wives and husbands/partners incomes are significant influences of who has control over domestic finance and who is able to make decisions on how money is spent. What does domestic financial organisation tell us about forms of patriarchy in South Asian households? What type of accounts do men and women have? Do individuals have access to money at any time? Where do respondents obtain money for personal items from? Where would respondents obtain money to purchase large items from, such as

a washing machine? Who decides to spend the money the female has earned? What does the female spend her money on? Do respondents know their husbands/partners earnings? What difference do education, employment and religion make to domestic financial organisation? Such questions will be explored to examine domestic finance as a contribution to forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women.

Type of Account

How much control did women have over finance? Three types of different bank accounts were used as an indicator of women's control over domestic finance. If women had their own account, they had some control over their finances, if women had a joint account they shared the control and if women did not have an account, they did not have any control over finances. The majority of respondents had their own account, some did not have an account. However, only a small minority had a joint account.

TABLE 7.1 TYPE OF ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Own	36	60
Joint	3	5
None	21	35
TOTAL	60	100

The majority of respondents (60%) had their own bank accounts.

> "...I need my own bank account, I don't want to have to keep on asking him for money, that would mean I rely on him, and he would love that, because he could decide what I spend...that's not a good thing to do..." (20).

> "...I have my own bank account and I don't believe in a joint account, why should I have a joint account...he can spend what he wants and it's better for me, I can control my own money and I can spend my own money..." (17).

Other respondents (35%) did not have a bank account.

> "...I don't need an account, what do I want a bank account for? That's just another headache, I've got enough things to worry about...anyway, I ask my husband for it (money) and he gives me what I need, and then I can spend it on whatever I want to spend it on...and I know he looks after it, and I can spend without worrying about it..." (4).

A minority of respondents (5%) had a joint account.

> "...we do everything together, and we believe in sharing our money...even though he does earn more money than me...at least I still have access to it...although a lot of the money goes into the house, and that's both of ours..." (37).

Women who had their own bank accounts had some control over their own money and wanted this control as they felt it gave them some power and independence, which they valued. Others who did not have a bank account as all finance was handled by their husbands. These women did not feel they needed any direct access to money and were content with asking their husbands for it. However, respondents *who had a joint account, wanted their* own money to be shared with that of their partner and felt it was something they did together as a couple, it was not controlled by one or the other, but was a joint venture.

The organisation and participation in paid work plays a major part in the internal dynamics of households. Who earns income, depends on who controls it. The ideal of sharing in allocation and spending of money is dependent to a certain extent on who is the earner of it. The domestic financial division ensures one which is based on gender and earning potential. However, in some cases where women worked, they handed their wage packet over to their husbands and it was the males who decided how money was spent. This was further linked to the educational background of respondents. Highly educated women were less likely to hand over their wage packet, but demanded negotiation

and sharing with both wage packets. Male readiness to cooperate with negotiation, was also related to how significant the woman's earnings were judged to be for the household's standard of living. If they were considered to be very significant, men were more likely to negotiate, if not, men were more likely to control.

Money for Personal Items

How much direct access to money did respondents have? Did they have complete access all the time or did they have to ask their husband/partner for money? Asking respondents where they would obtain money to purchase personal items indicates the extent to which women have the freedom to spend when they want and how they want. The majority of respondents said they obtained money for personal items from their own earnings, others said they obtained money from their husbands and only one respondent said she obtained money for personal items from her mother-in-law.

TABLE 7.2 MONEY FOR PERSONAL ITEMS

WHERE FROM	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Self/own earnings	39	65
Husband	20	33
Mother-in-law	1	2
TOTAL	60	100

The majority of respondents (65%) said they obtained money for personal items from their own earnings.

> "...I take it out of my account and spend it on what I want to spend it on...that's the whole point of having my own account, so that I can spend it on what I want to spend it on, not on what someone else tells me to do..." (35).

> "...at the end of the day, it's my money and I want to spend it and that for me means, being able to get it when I want and so I just take it out and spend it on myself, or sometimes I buy things for the house..." (13).

Other respondents (33%) said they obtained money for personal items from their husband.

> "...I would ask my husband for it and he just wants to know what it's for...but he never questions me...he will always give it to me, he just wants to know where it's going...he knows what I like to spend money on, and he likes me spending money on the children..." (26).
>
> "...When I ask him for it, sometimes he asks me what it's for and other times he just gives it to me...I think it depends on the mood he's in...but I don't mind if he asks me, he's the one who earns the money and so he has a right to ask me what I'm spending his money on...(respondent's emphasis) " (48).

Where respondents obtain money from, to purchase personal items indicates the extent to which they have access to money and the freedom to spend at their own will. Respondents who used their own earnings did so, as they had the right to spend it as they pleased, as they had earned it. Those who asked their husbands for money were unlikely to have their own income and felt it was up to their husbands to decide how much they were allowed to spend. Since they did not earn it, they felt they did not have the power to decide how much they were able to spend.

There is an 'internal economy' of households and that economy is based on the domestic financial organisation that takes place within households. The 'internal economy' of households varies by gender, status and 'race'. Women who have greater power within the internal economy have greater powers for negotiation, this is based upon their role as income earners. Earning an income gives women the access and right to discuss issues of finance, where money comes from, how it is spent and who spends it. The greater a woman's control of income, the greater her bargaining power for the distribution of that income. The greater a woman's control of income, the greater her leverage in other household economic and domestic decisions. Women who gain an income, gain domestic power. This was shown in the study, women who had an income were

independent and participated in decision making in family relationships. Women who did not have an income were unable, (or felt they had no right), to contribute to decision making. An increase in educational levels and employment rates enable women to provide sizeable shares of family incomes.

Where Funds are obtained to Purchase a Washing Machine

Access to large amounts of money indicates if women have savings themselves and are able to use these savings as they please. Or, do they have to ask their husband/partner for large amounts of money? How much access do women have to larger amounts of money, such as that required to purchase a washing machine? Where would they obtain funds to purchase a washing machine from? Would it be their decision or the decision of their husband/partner? Most respondents in the study said they would ask their husband to purchase a washing machine for them, others said they would purchase a washing machine with their husband/partner. A very small minority said they would purchase a washing machine with their own earnings.

TABLE 7.3 WHERE FUNDS ARE OBTAINED TO PURCHASE A WASHING MACHINE

WHERE FROM	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Self/own earnings	2	3
Husband	27	45
Together with husband/partner	26	44
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (45%) said they would ask their husband to purchase a washing machine for them.

> "...I would talk to my husband about it, and if he thought we needed it, then he would get it for me, but I would have to ask him to buy it for me, I don't have that much money and he's the one who has all the money anyway...so he would buy it..." (9).

"...I would ask my husband to buy it for me, where would I get that sort of money from? He's the one who decides the big things to buy, because he knows what we should be spending the money on and he decides where large sums of money go...and so he would probably buy it for me if I wanted it..." (26).

Other respondents (44%) said they would purchase a washing machine together with their partner.

"...we would both discuss it together and then go out and buy it...it would be a joint decision and we would both pay for it halfway...that's the way we do things, we believe in doing things together, as a partnership..." (37).

"...I would talk to my boyfriend about it and it would be a joint decision that we make together...and we would pay for it together and that would be fair...half each...but if I didn't have the money, then he would pay for it and I would pay him back, from my share...so the washing machine would be both of ours and not just his..." (20).

There is a difference in the ways in which money is 'controlled', 'managed' and 'distributed'. The control of money is concerned with decisions about how income is allocated. The management of income refers to the process whereby control decisions are put into operation, in designated areas of expenditure of *household income.* Distribution is concerned with who gets what and how this is related to the process of spending. The control, management and distribution of income is related to <u>different types</u> of income in households. That which is used for the collective household and that which is individual. 'Collective income' refers to money received from all individuals in households and is used to spend on all members of households. 'Individual income' refers to the income of individuals and may be used at their discretion.

Control, management and distribution of income is affected by women's position in the labour market. It is not simply that the labour market characteristics of particular households influence the organisation of their finances, but the way in

which the couples organise their income will affect behaviour in the labour market. The need or wish for independent funds by the woman does not necessarily bear a direct relation to the size of the man's income. What is rather at issue, is access to that income and its allocation to various areas of spending. The significance of women's earnings will depend not only on the level of husband's income, but more importantly on the degree to which it is available for spending on collective needs. Furthermore, there is a tendency to see married women's earnings as somehow secondary, as a supplementary or luxury income rather than as a necessity, whilst men's income which is considered the most vital, primary source of income within households.

Decision to Spend Money Earned by Female

If women earn, they are expected to control their own earnings. Who decides to spend money women earn indicates the extent to which women have control over their own earnings or whether earnings are controlled by their husband/partner. Who decides to spend the money the female has earned? Does she decide herself or does her husband/partner decide for her? Most respondents in the study said they decided with their husband/partner, some said they themselves decided and others said their husband/partner decided for them. Only one respondent said her mother-in-law decided to spend the money she had earned.

TABLE 7.4 DECISION TO SPEND MONEY EARNED BY FEMALE

WHO DECIDES	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Self	18	30
Self+Husband/partner	22	37
Husband/partner	14	23
Mother-in-law	1	2
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (37%) said they decided together with their husband/partner what to spend their earnings on.

> "...we both decide what to spend the money on...we put the money together and we share everything and it's what we feel works right for us and we can share everything down the middle...it makes us feel as though we have an equal relationship..." (34).
>
> "...I think it's better if we both sit down and discuss the money, because it means we're both taking a part in what is going on, and we both care about it, so it's like a partnership really..." (59).

However, some respondents (30%) said they themselves decided what to spend their earnings on.

> "...I do and that's simple because I earned it and I worked hard for it and so it should be me who decides what to spend it on...I hate it when the men tell women what they can spend money on...and when she's earned the money herself..." (32).
>
> "...if I am the one who is able to decide what to spend my money on, then I am showing my partner I don't want him to control me and what I do...if he did, then I would have less control than him and would probably have to do what he said...and I don't want that to happen...and so I make sure he always knows that and doesn't get a chance to try and say what I should spend my money on..." (14).

Other respondents (23%) said it was their husband/partner who decided what to spend the money on, that the female herself had earned.

> "...my husband decides what to spend the money on, he takes care of all that business in the home...he looks after it all and he decides what it's spent on and what is being saved...I'm glad he takes care of it, I wouldn't know what to do with it...he makes sure we have enough money and he makes sure the bills get paid..." (29).
>
> "...because I work for the family business, I don't mind what happens to the money, because it all goes back into the family and it's all for us and the children...and so the money I make, my husband is the one who decides what to do with it, sometimes he may use it to pay a big bill or something...but most of the time, I don't see it and he looks after it..." (25).

The system of domestic financial management is a reflection of power within a relationship. In the 'traditional' family where women had arranged marriages, many women said they spent money on the family and children, (a 'maternal altruism'), whereby the needs of the family and children are always treated as being paramount, coming before those of the wife and mother. Women do not use their wages exclusively for personal consumption. The male pattern on the other hand, was more likely to be concerned with personal spending power. Gender attitudes in South Asian households have grown out of the traditional sexual division of labour. Constraints on women's spending derive not simply from access to money, but also from the view that they have no right to what they have not 'earned'.

In the 'co-habiting' family spending money was discussed by both partners. In the 'single' family, women were more likely to make their own decisions about what to spend their money on.

Although many women in the sample did work, for some of them, work did not increase their sense of self-worth. The mere fact that they held jobs did not have fundamental effects on relations between husbands/partners and wives. For example, women who were machinists were still controlled by their husbands in all aspects of their lives, they handed their wage packet over to their husbands and he decided what to spend it on. Money was a topic that most women freely discussed, but in some cases partners still do not know each others earnings.

The mere fact of women earning an independent income does not necessarily indicate a revolutionary change in authority relations between husbands and wives. In some cases the woman's earnings do enhance her status within households. This is most likely where there is a strong career attachment on the part of women, where finances are handled jointly and where the woman's wage covers clearly visible items of expenditure, such as mortgage repayments or payment of bills.

When the employment of a wife seems to supplement domestic spending, it is likely to be underestimated. Sometime the woman's wage will be more visible, but in these cases the woman's motivation for a wage seems to be related to a career commitment, social contact and/or identity, rather than a pressing financial need. The lower the woman's earnings, the more critical they are to household income. However, the predominance of two-earner households does not necessarily increase women's power within the home. Power may derive from earning capacity and this raises the question as to whether women's earnings increase their power in the home. It seems not, some women fashion their paid work to accommodate their unpaid labour in the home. A pattern within finance emerges. Spending decisions involving large amounts of money are taken by men, whilst day to day budgeting tends to be the responsibility of women. This distribution conforms to other aspects of the traditional distribution of responsibilities.

The size and source of the joint income may also influence a households financial arrangements. The larger the income, the more involvement the man has in household financial affairs. This is due to the greater capacity for spending in large amounts, a characteristically male preserve. The smaller the income, the closer total income is to the level required for minimal domestic needs and the more likely it is to be managed by the man. Women's earnings at the lower level do little to affect these patterns, being commonly used to augment domestic funds, though at a higher level of status and income, women's employment brings a greater probability that there will be some shared element in the overall management of finances.

Whether Wife/Partner Knows her Husband/Partner's Earnings

Knowledge of each others earnings indicates the extent to which each partner wants to disclose the amount of money they earn and the degree to which they want their partner to share in this and have some control over it. Did respondents know how much their husband/partner earned? The majority of respondents

knew their husbands/partners earnings and a minority said they did not.

TABLE 7.5 WHETHER WIFE/PARTNER KNOWS HER HUSBAND/PARTNER'S EARNINGS

KNOW EARNINGS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
YES		
Discuss Finance	41	69
NO (TOTAL)	14	23
Will Worry	5	8
Male controls finance	9	15
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

The majority of respondents (69%) said they knew how much their husband/partner earned.

> "...yes I know how much he earns...although sometimes he's reluctant to tell me, but I always know...I always look at his payslip and so I know exactly how much he earns...and I think I have a right to know, why shouldn't I know? He knows how much I earn and so I should know what he earns, we should both follow the same rules and not just do what he says...if he wants to know what I earn, then he should expect to tell me what he earns..." (16).

> "...we both tell each other what we earn, we believe in having an equal relationship and that means telling each other these things...it doesn't bother me at all, I think it bothers him more than it bothers me...he gets afraid that I might be earning more than him one day..." (40).

Other respondents (23%) said they did not know how much their husband/partner earned. A number of reasons were given for this. Most respondents (15%) said they did not know how much their husband/partner earned, as he controlled finances in the home.

"...I don't think he wants to tell me, because then it wouldn't be his job if he involved me would it? He wants to take control of it and he does...it makes him know he is the head of the family and he has an important job to do...handling money is an important job...and it makes him feel good...and I don't think I would like to do it, it would make me think about money too much and how much we haven't got....(respondent's emphasis)." (48).

"...I think looking after the money is the man's job...and it should be...I don't get involved and so he doesn't tell me how much money he earns...I don't think he needs to, what do I want to know for anyway? It's his job and I let him get on with it, he's the one who says what we can spend money on and that doesn't bother me at all...it's the way I like it..." (27).

Other respondents (8%) said they did not know how much their husband/partner earned as their husband/partner felt their wives/partners would worry.

"...I don't know what he earns and I don't want to know...he knows what I'm like, because if he told me, then I would start to worry and wonder about how much money we have and what we are doing with it...I don't want him to tell me, it's better the way it is, he looks after it and I don't have to worry about it then..." (41).

Earning an income makes a significant difference to knowledge of earnings and how money is spent. In 'co-habiting' households, individuals are able to spend more money on consumer items. Financial status can be revealed indirectly by standard of lifestyle. Sometimes, in cases where wives did not know how much their husbands earned ('traditional' households), money remained a taboo issue for many couples because when people talk about money they are really talking about authority relations inside households and how these authority relations are controlled and by whom. Authority relations reflect how much people earn and the form of budgeting symbolises how power is distributed in the family. Men have traditionally derived their authority from status and resources acquired outside the family and have transformed their status and these resources into authority inside the family. What happens to women's

income and how they view it, is important. Autonomy is gained by the expenditure of individual income and the structure of the accounting system questions the traditional authority of men to make financial decisions and allows women to assert the same authority over discretionary income that men have had in the past.

Whether Husband/Partner Knows his Wife/Partner's Earnings

Does knowledge of earnings indicate more control and access to money? Did husbands/partners know their how much their wife/partner earned? The majority of respondents said their husband/partner knew how much they earned. Others said their husband/partner did not know how much they earned.

TABLE 7.6 WHETHER HUSBAND/PARTNER KNOWS HIS WIFE/PARTNER'S EARNINGS

KNOW EARNINGS	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
YES	49	82
NO	6	10
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

The majority of respondents (82%) said their husband/partner knew how much they earned.

> "...he knows exactly how much I earn, because he always looks at my payslip and he wants to know so that we can both work out our money together and decide what to spend it on...but I also know how much he earns and so it's fair, I wouldn't allow him to look at my payslip if I didn't know how much he earned...I think I would worry about that, because it would be as if he was the one who was trying to control me...and I don't want to be controlled..." (16).

"...I think it would be very difficult to keep it from him, because he would just go and look at my money and then find out...and anyway I think he wants me to tell him, because it makes him think he's in charge and has to know everything about what is going on in the house and what all the money is being spent on...and so I tell him...if I didn't then I think I would be very unhappy and he would make my life a misery until I told him..." (30).

Other respondents (10%) said their husband/partner did not know how much they earned.

"...I don't tell him how much I earn, because I don't think he needs to know, if he did then he would try and control it all and tell me how I could spend my money...and I don't want that, I want to have some kind of control over my own life and that is for myself, so that I know I can do the things I want to do with the money I have left over and don't want to give it to someone else...anyway, why should I tell him, he doesn't tell me what he earns and keeps it a big secret..." (12).

"I think I want to make sure my money is my own money and so I don't tell him what I earn...and I think I earn more than him and that wouldn't make him happy...maybe if we were to buy a house or something big like that I might tell him, but he doesn't need to know now...if he did know then he would ask me where all the money was going and what I was spending it on...and I don't want to answer to anyone about what I'm spending my money on..." (35).

The world of work and family are closely connected, the organisation of work reflects the dominant functions of the economic system, creates the hierarchy of opportunities and rewards available, and influences both the financial position and social status of family members. The 'co-habiting' family poses an important contrast to other family forms and raises questions about the impact of work on the family, for example what effect does men's and women's work have on the social structure of the family and on gender roles? There are three careers, the man's career which is predominant, the woman's career which is secondary and a third career, the household career, which is based upon organising and arranging the household and its finances. For women, impact in the choice to work outside the home, is not only a comparison with men's

roles but also a confrontation between traditional values and new desires. Even though most women describe their careers as products of a choice, the choice to pursue a career also constitutes a decision not to pursue the traditional role of homemaker.

What Money is Spent on by the Female

Do men and women spend their money on different things? Are men more likely to spend money on paying the mortgage, hence making women dependent upon them or are finances shared? Authority relations reflect how much people earn and the form of budgeting symbolises how power is distributed in the family. Respondents were asked what they spent their money on. The majority of respondents said they spent their money on rent, bills and food. Other respondents said it was their husband/partner who decided what they spent money on.

TABLE 7.7 WHAT MONEY IS SPENT ON BY THE FEMALE

MONEY SPENT ON	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Self	1	2
Food	6	10
Food+Self	1	1
Rent/Mortgage, Bills+Food	32	54
Food+Children	6	10
Rent/Mortgage	1	2
Husband/Partner Decides	8	13
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (54%) said they spent their money on rent, bills and food.

"...I think my first priority is living, what I mean by that is paying for the rent and the bills and then feeding myself...that has to be taken care of first, before I can think of anything else at all...it should be everyone's priority, but some people have more money and know they will have lots left over to spend on themselves and their leisure time..." (10).

"...first of all the rent and the bills have to be paid and then I do spend a lot of my money on food and make sure that's taken care of...then I go out and spend it on clothes for myself...but I make sure my bills are paid first..." (30).

Other respondents (13%) said their husband/partner decided what they spent their money on.

"...my husband decides what my money should be spent on and I let him take control...I think he puts it all together and pays the bills...I give the money to him anyway, because I don't mind him taking care of it..." (23).

"...I have to give my money to my husband and he makes sure the money is saved and then we spend it on other things, like the food shopping and clothes for the children...if I need some money, he gives it to me...he never says no to me..." (4).

The measure of power in households is based on decision making in several areas of life which involve income and expenditure, such as who pays the bills, who buys the food and who purchases large household items. Power within households is related closely to occupational prestige and levels of earnings. High income husbands are most powerful if their wives contribute no income, if the wife earns there is a corresponding diminution in the husband's power. Power in the labour market translates into power within the home. High earning husbands become involved in decision making in areas that involve large amounts of expenditure.

What Money is Spent on by the Male

Respondents were also asked what their husband/partner spent his money on. The majority of respondents said their

husband/partner spent his money on rent/mortgage, bills and food. Others said their husband/partner spent his money on the rent/mortgage and bills.

TABLE 7.8 WHAT MONEY IS SPENT ON BY THE MALE

MONEY SPENT ON	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Self	2	3
Rent/Mortgage, Bills+Food	31	52
Rent/Mortgage+Bills	22	37
No Partner (N/A)	5	8
TOTAL	60	100

Most respondents (52%) said their husband/partner spent his money on the rent/mortgage, bills and food.

> "...he spends his money on the same things as me...we both put our money together and then it gets spent on things like the rent and we both pay for the food...we split all our bills and I know what he spends his money on, that's the way it works for both of us..." (34).

> "...he has to make sure the bills and the rent are paid, that's what his part of the bargain is and then some of the money he has left over is spent on the food...but most of my money goes on things for the house and the children and then we try and save some of my money...if we both spend our money on different things and know that each of us has to do this, we'll make sure the money's being spent on what it has to be spent on..." (40).

Other respondents (37%) said their husband/partner spent his money on the rent/mortgage.

> "...he earns more than me, and so all the money that he makes gets spent on the mortgage and the rest gets saved and my money is spent on the food...the mortgage is a larger amount and so it comes out of his wages and not mine..." (6).

> "...when he pays the mortgage, that's something that I don't have to worry about and at least I know we will always have a roof over our heads and won't be homeless and I think it works better that way...then I know the mortgage is paid for and don't have to worry about that..." (45).

Whilst for many traditional South Asian women, marriage is popularly assumed to be their best chance of financial well-being, this does not always appear to be the case. Many married men controlled the money and women had a share of it. At low levels of income, men's lack of earning power severely restricted the choices that were available to households. Women were normally responsible for the family's standard of living, but did not feel they were in control. Economic and social factors translate into financial arrangements within households. Where men were the primary earners ('traditional' families), they paid the bills and women were less likely to be involved in the distribution of income. Where both partners earned an income ('co-habiting' families), these couples were most notable for the presence of a surplus income over and above that of basic needs. Here there was a strong belief in an equal and shared partnership. Whereas in the 'single' family, women controlled their own income.

Responsibility for domestic finance can be described in terms of two functions, that of organisation and decision-making. In the 'traditional' family, men made all the decisions and in the 'co-habiting' family domestic finance was 'organised' by both partners.

The Significance of Religion, Education and Employment

What difference do religion, education and employment make to women's responses on domestic finance? To analyse the relationship between variables chi square tests of significance were used (tables 7.9 to 7.12). If chi square was less than .05 the correlation was shown to be highly significant.

Religion

Religion did not affect respondent's views on domestic finance. The religious background of respondents did not influence the amount of control women had over domestic finance and whether they had access to money. Domestic finance was related to issues of employment and marital decisions, religion did not play a part in this.

Education

Level of education affected respondent's views on domestic finance, control and access to money.

TABLE 7.9 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND TYPE OF ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT	EDUCATION (per cent)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
Own	-	-	14	6	11	44	25	60
Joint	-	-	33	67	-	-	-	5
None	33	10	48	-	10	-	-	35
COLUMN TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE (12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .00000

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents who had their own bank account were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA). Respondents who did not have a bank account had low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications).

TABLE 7.10 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND WHERE RESPONDENTS OBTAIN MONEY FOR PERSONAL ITEMS

WHERE FROM	EDUCATION (per cent)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	ROW TOTAL
Self/own earnings	-	5	13	8	10	41	23	65
Husband	35	-	55	5	5	-	-	33
Mother-in-law	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	2
COLUMN TOTAL	12	3	27	7	10	27	15	100

CHI SQUARE (12 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .00001

1 = None
2 = CSE's
3 = 'O' levels
4 = 'A' levels
5 = BTEC/HND
6 = BA/BSC
7 = MA/MSC

Respondents who said they obtained money for personal items from their own earnings were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA). Respondents who said they obtained money for personal items from their husband/partner had low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications).

Level of education affected respondent's views on domestic finance. Respondents who had access to money and shared control of money with their husband/partner were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA). Respondents who had little or no control over money had low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications).

Employment

Women's position in the division of labour affected their views on domestic finance and the amount of access and control they had over money.

TABLE 7.11 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND WHERE RESPONDENTS OBTAIN FUNDS TO PURCHASE A WASHING MACHINE

WHERE FROM	OCCUPATION (per cent)								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
Self/own earnings	-	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	3
Husband	14	4	44	19	19	-	-	-	45
Together with husband/partner	-	-	8	12	23	31	4	23	44
No Partner (N/A)	-	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	8
COLUMN TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

CHI SQUARE (21 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) =.00020

1 = Unemployed Housewife
2 = Self-Employed
3 = Skilled Manual
4 = Semi-Skilled
5 = Non-Manual
6 = Semi-Professional
7 = Professional
8 = Student

Respondents who said they would buy a washing machine together with their partner were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, student). Those who said they would ask their husband/partner to buy a washing machine for them were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual).

TABLE 7.12 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OCCUPATION AND WHO DECIDES TO SPEND MONEY EARNED BY FEMALE

WHO DECIDES	OCCUPATION (per cent)								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	ROW TOTAL
Self	-	-	6	17	6	17	-	56	30
Self+ Husband/partner	-	-	18	9	41	23	5	5	37
Husband/partner	-	7	50	29	14	-	-	-	23
Mother-in-law	-	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	2
No Partner	80	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	8
COLUMN TOTAL	7	2	23	15	20	13	2	18	100

CHI SQUARE (28 DEGREES OF FREEDOM) = .00000

1 = Unemployed Housewife
2 = Self-Employed
3 = Skilled Manual
4 = Semi-Skilled
5 = Non-Manual
6 = Semi-Professional
7 = Professional

8 = Student

Respondents who said they decided to spend the money they earned, were in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, students). Those who said their husband/partner decided to spend the money they earned, were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual, semi-skilled).

Respondents in high positions in the division of labour (professional, students), had some control and access to finance. Those in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual, semi-skilled), had less control and access to finance, where finance was controlled by their husband/partner.

Level of education and position in the labour market affected respondents views on domestic finance. Highly educated respondents (those who had a BA or MA) were in high positions in the division of labour (professional, semi-professional) and had some control over domestic finance. Respondents with low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications) were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual, semi-skilled) and had little or no control over domestic finance.

Traditional and Independent Women

Respondents with low levels of education (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications) were in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual, unskilled manual). These respondents were defined as 'traditional' women and portrayed conformist, traditional attitudes towards domestic finance and saw it as something which should be controlled by men. These women experienced a private form of patriarchy inside the household.

Highly educated respondents (those who had a BA or MA) were in high positions in the division of labour (professional, semi-

professional). They were defined as 'independent' women and portrayed liberal attitudes towards domestic finance and saw it as something that was shared between themselves and their husband/partners. These women experienced public patriarchy outside the household.

CONCLUSION

Different forms of patriarchy exist in South Asian communities in Britain. One of the ways private patriarchy manifests itself is through domestic financial organisation within households. Domestic finance indicates who has power over whom and how authority relations in households are distributed. Different opinions were shown to exist on domestic finance. Women who were in 'traditional' families were more likely to have finance controlled by their husbands, women in 'co-habiting' families shared the control of domestic finance and women in 'single' families controlled domestic finance themselves.

Level of education and position in the labour market affected women's responses on domestic finance. Women with high levels of education were in high positions in the division of labour and had a sharing system of financial organisation in their households. They saw finance as a partnership. These women are independent, as they are self-sufficient and are more likely to be employed. They experience a public form of patriarchy.

Traditional women however, are not highly educated and are in low positions in the division of labour. They are unable to negotiate domestic finance. Finance becomes controlled by the male and he decides how money is spent. These women have fewer choices available to them and experience a more private form of patriarchy which takes place inside the household and is reinforced through the organisation of domestic finance.

Who earns the income shapes power when it is defined as control over decisions and when it is defined as who is the leader in

the relationship. Ideology does make a difference. Ideological principles focus on issues of resources, work sharing, power and authority. These principles shape the actual connections between money and how couples live their lives. When couples talk about money, they are simultaneously talking about authority relations. Men have traditionally derived their authority from status and resources acquired outside the family and have transformed that status and those resources into authority within the family. The mere fact of women earning independent incomes has not necessarily led to a revolutionary change in authority relations between partners. What happens to that income and how respondents view it becomes equally important. Autonomy is gained by the expenditure of individual income. The structure of the accounting system questions the traditional authority of men to make familial decisions and allows women to assert the same authority over discretionary income that men have had in the past. Private patriarchy still exists within South Asian households, even though women participate in paid work.

Within the 'traditional' family, the husband is more likely to claim authority simply because he is the main earner and is male, but in the 'co-habiting' family, men are less likely to assert the values of patriarchal authority, though it is possible they have more power anyway.

In the 'traditional' family, one partner (the male), was responsible for managing household income and expenditure. Here, the woman may not even see the unopened wage packet and may not know how much her husband earns. In the 'co-habiting' family, both partners had access to all household income and both were responsible for the management of and expenditure from a common pool. Here there is no privileged position of power, this is a model based on equal access and joint responsibility which depends on a high level of trust and agreement about priorities for spending. It cannot be assumed that a high level of income for one partner necessarily

benefits the living standards of the other. In some cases, traditional role definitions may play a stronger role in homes which will discourage female labour force participation.

Examining finance helps us to question the motivation for earning and the balance of concern for self against concern for the household as a collectivity. It is also possible, the way in which a given household organises its finances and the way in which its members set their spending priorities, is strongly influenced by their position and experience in the labour market. The distribution of domestic finance in South Asian households is an aspect of private patriarchy which reflects relations inside households. Men are the ones who ultimately control domestic finance, women are made to believe they too can contribute, but it is men who control. The organisation of domestic finance reflects the different authority and power relations which translate into male power and female disadvantage. Women's participation in the labour market has not necessarily given them more power within the home to control how money is spent and by whom. It is through these relations that private patriarchy manifests itself to keep traditional South Asian women in an inferior and oppressed position where they are controlled by men in households. The incomes women bring to households are not necessarily a reflection of their contribution to power within households. For some women, it may appear to be, but ultimately it is men who control and women who contribute to this control.

8
Analysis of Labour Force Survey Data: A Comparison

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine Labour Force Survey (LFS) statistics on economic activity, highest educational qualification, marital status and ethnicity. The chapter will investigate whether my sample was representative of the national data and examine any correlations between my findings and LFS data. It will also look at comparisons within South Asian groups and between other ethnic groups (Afro-Caribbean and white), to investigate whether marriage has a differential impact for different ethnic groups and if there been any changes over time (1984-1994) in paid employment and education for women.

The thesis questions are; What are the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women in Britain? What is the significance of religion, education and employment? What difference does having an arranged marriage, receiving a dowry, participating in domestic labour and domestic finance make to the forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women?

Marital status has a differential impact on economic activity and education for different ethnic groups. For younger women (25-30), due to the rate of social change, marital status has more of an impact on Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Indian groups than it does for Afro-Caribbean and white groups. There are differences between ethnic groups as well as differences within the South Asian category. Religious background has a significant impact on whether South Asian women have an arranged marriage and are given a dowry. Religion has more impact on Moslem women than it does on Hindu and Sikh women.

THE DATA

LFS data was obtained from an independent organisation (Quantime) who deal with large data sets. The relevant data was sorted by gender (women), ethnic group (all ethnic groups), age (all ages and 25-30), education (highest qualification), employment (economic activity) and marital status (single, married, cohabiting and divorced). The data presented in this

paper was taken from the large data set provided by Quantime. However, I have re-presented the data in tables to include only data relevant to this study. The LFS data was taken for ten years (1984-1994). When examining correlations between marital status, economic activity, education and ethnicity it was taken for three years (1984, 1990 and 1994).

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) is a quarterly sample survey of around 60,000 households and people living in NHS accommodation (ie nurses). The questionnaire covers a wide range of demographic and employment-related information. Questions about economic activity (paid work, job search) are asked of all people aged 16 or over, and relate to a specific reference period, (normally a period of one week or four weeks, depending on the topic), immediately prior to interview. If any household member is unavailable for interview, information for that person is provided by a related adult member of the same household. Students living away from home in halls of residence are also included.

Each quarter's LFS sample of 60,000 households is made up of 5 'waves' each of approximately 12,000 households. Each wave is interviewed in 5 successive quarters; in any one quarter one wave will be receiving their first interview, one wave their second and so on, with one wave receiving their fifth and final interview. Thus there is an 80% overlap in the samples for successive quarters. The survey results are 'grossed up' to give the correct population total for Great Britain and reflect the distributions by sex, age and region shown by the population figures. Estimates relating to 10,000 people or fewer (after grossing up) are not shown, since they are based on small samples and are therefore unlikely to be reliable. This is in line with current practice for all LFS based analyses (Sly 1994, 1995).

Ethnic Origin

People interviewed in the quarterly LFS are asked to classify their own ethnic origin and that of others in their household by answering the question: 'To which of these groups do you consider.....belongs?': White, Black-Caribbean, Black-African, Black-Other, Black-Mixed, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and Other. However, LFS estimates relating to ethnic origin (or country of origin and nationality), are subject to high sampling errors as the populations in question are relatively small in number and tend to be highly clustered, both within particular geographical areas and within households. This limits the detail in which results can be presented, (see the section on employment in this chapter, for a comparison of my categories with those used in the LFS).

Economic Activity and Classification

People in employment in the survey are regarded as those aged 16 and over who did some paid work in the reference week, (whether as an employee or self-employed), those who had a job that they were temporarily away from, (on holiday for example), those on government employment or training programmes and unpaid family workers.

Unemployed people in the survey are regarded as those aged 16 and over without a paid job, who said they were available to start work in the next two weeks and who either had looked for work at some time during the four weeks prior to the interview, or were waiting to start a job they had already obtained.

The 'economically active' population or labour force, comprises people in employment together with unemployed people. The 'economically inactive' population comprises people who are neither in employment nor unemployed. This group includes all people aged over who were, for example looking after a home or retired, and also discouraged workers who were not seeking work, because they believe there were no jobs available.

Highest Qualification

Educational qualifications in the LFS are asked of all people over 16. Individuals are asked to state their highest qualification, which ranges from higher degree to GCSE to no qualifications, as well as other qualifications such as nursing certificates, YTS and BTEC.

A COMPARISON

My Findings

Religion

In my sample of 60 women, religion influenced whether South Asian women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Moslem women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage and given a dowry (13 out of 30, 43%), followed by Sikh (9 out of 30, 30%) and Hindu women (8 out of 30, 27%). However, religion did not influence women's attitudes to arranged marriages or dowries.

Education

Level of education influenced whether South Asian women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Highly educated women were in high positions in the division of labour, did not have an arranged marriage and were not given a dowry. Women with lower levels of education were in low positions in the division of labour, had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry (see Chapter 1 - Introduction for a detailed explanation of this and Appendix for background information of respondents).

Employment

Position in the division of labour is related to level of education and influenced South Asian women's position within households. Women in high positions in the division of labour were highly educated. Women in low positions in the division of labour had lower levels of education.

In order to make a comparison with LFS data and my own

findings, it is necessary to map my own categories onto those used in the LFS. Since Hindu and Sikh women in my sample were Indian and Moslem women were Pakistani or Bangladeshi, these categories can be mapped onto those used by the LFS (Indian=Hindu/Sikh, Pakistani/Bangladeshi=Moslem). This is also the case in the general population, Indian women tend to be Hindu or Sikh and Moslem women tend to be Pakistani/Bangladeshi. However, as this is not an exact mapping, there may be possible discrepancies between the data sets.

LFS DATA

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

This section will compare data for the 25-30 age cohort in 1993, (this was the age range of my respondents and they were interviewed in 1993), with data for all women. It is important to make a comparison between my age cohort (25-30) and all women as data from this age cohort will produce a different picture from data for all women. The rapidity of social change for South Asian women (for the 25-30 age cohort), may be greater than for all women, hence it is important to examine both groups.

The LFS suggests my sample of 60 women is representative of the national data and indicates Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women have the lowest proportion of women who are in employment compared to all other ethnic groups. Whereas Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women have a very high number of women who are in employment, this is shown for all women and women aged 25-30. Younger women (25-30) are more likely to have been educated in Britain.

Table 8.1 Economic Activity and Ethnicity 1993, (all women).

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (ALL WOMEN) 1993	ALL	ETHNIC GROUP (per cent) WHITE	AFRO-CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
Economically Active	53	53	62	56	24
In Employment	49	50	49	50	17
ILO Unemployed	4	4	13	6	7
Inactive	47	47	38	44	76

Source: LFS 1993.

Table 8.2 Economic Activity and Ethnicity, 1993 (women aged 25-30).

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (WOMEN AGED 25-30) 1993	ALL	ETHNIC GROUP (per cent) WHITE	AFRO-CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
Economically Active	72	73	65	70	29
In Employment	66	67	50	60	22
ILO[7] Unemployed	6	6	15	10	7
Inactive	28	27	35	30	71

Source: LFS 1993.

As shown in table 8.1, 60% of Indian women in the 25-30 age cohort were in employment which is slightly lower than the numbers of white women. Pakistani/Bangladeshi women have the lowest number of women in employment. The LFS data indicates, women aged 25-30 were more likely to be working than all women. The LFS suggests my sample is representative of the national data. Hindu and Sikh women (Indian) were more likely to be employed than Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women.

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION

What is the relationship between education and ethnic origin? Do different ethnic groups obtain different levels of

[7] This figure is laid down by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and is also used by the OECD (Organisation of Economic Corporation) and includes those aged 16 and over without a paid job who said they were available to start work in the next two weeks.

education? This section will examine data for the 25-30 age cohort for highest educational qualification and ethnic origin (1993) and compare data for all women.

In my sample, more Hindu and Sikh women were highly educated, (those who had a BA or MA), compared to Moslem women, (see Appendix for background information of respondents). This indicates my sample is representative of the national data.

Table 8.3 Highest Qualification and Ethnicity 1993, (women aged 25-30).

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION (WOMEN AGED 25-30) 1993	ALL	ETHNIC GROUP (per cent) WHITE	AFRO-CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
First Degree	9	9	8	14	4
'A' Levels	7	7	7	8	6
'O' Levels	26	27	17	13	10
CSE below grade 1	9	10	8	6	2
No Qualifications	17	16	20	27	50

Source: LFS 1993.

Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women were more likely to have degrees than white and other women in 1993. Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women were less likely to have degrees than any other ethnic group.

Table 8.4 Highest Qualification and Ethnicity 1993, (all women).

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION (ALL WOMEN) 1993	ALL	ETHNIC GROUP (per cent) WHITE	AFRO-CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
First Degree	3	3	4	5	1
'A' Levels	4	4	4	4	2
'O' Levels	12	12	10	9	5
CSE below grade 1	3	3	3	2	2
No Qualifications	19	18	19	26	32

Source: LFS 1993.

When comparing the numbers for all women, the LFS indicates my sample is representative of the national data. Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women were more likely to have degrees than Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (Moslem) women. Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women were more likely to have no qualifications than other women. There are significant differences between ethnic groups in terms of educational qualifications. Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women were more educated than white women, followed by Afro-Caribbean women. Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women were the least educated.

Education has a similar impact for women of all ethnic groups, for example enabling them to enter employment, however women from different ethnic groups have different access to education.

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION, MARITAL STATUS AND ETHNICITY

What is the relationship between education, marital status and ethnicity? The following tables provide figures from 1984, 1990 and 1994 for highest qualification (degrees), marital status and ethnicity, for all women and for women aged 25-30.

Table 8.5 Highest Qualification (degrees), Marital Status and Ethnicity (all women).

ETHNIC GROUP / YEAR	DEGREES MARITAL STATUS (per cent) ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR
ALL WOMEN					
1984	3	4	3	-	3
1990	4	3	5	9	4
1994	4	3	3	9	3
WHITE WOMEN					
1984	3	4	3	-	3
1990	4	3	4	9	4
1994	4	3	4	9	3
INDIAN WOMEN					
1984	5	3	6	-	13
1990	7	2	11	-	14
1994	4	4	4	19	6
PAKISTANI/BANGLADESHI WOMEN					
1984	3	-	4	-	-
1990	2	1	4	-	-
1994	2	2	2	-	-
AFRO-CARIBBEAN WOMEN					
1984	-	-	-	-	-
1990	5	2	8	7	7
1994	3	2	5	9	4

Source: LFS 1984, 1990 and 1994.

Table 8.6 Highest Qualification (degrees), Marital Status and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30).

ETHNIC GROUP / YEAR	DEGREES MARITAL STATUS (per cent) ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR
ALL WOMEN					
1984	7	14	6	-	2
1990	8	16	6	11	1
1994	10	15	8	13	1
WHITE WOMEN					
1984	7	15	6	-	2
1990	8	16	6	11	1
1994	10	14	8	13	1
INDIAN WOMEN					
1984	12	7	13	-	-
1990	10	44	6	-	-
1994	21	43	11	32	41
PAKISTANI/BANGLADESHI WOMEN					
1984	2	-	2	-	-
1990	1	-	1	-	-
1994	5	29	2	-	-
AFRO-CARIBBEAN WOMEN					
1984	1	2	-	-	-
1990	4	6	-	-	-
1994	8	9	5	9	-

Source: LFS 1984, 1990 and 1994.

The tables above demonstrate the relationship between education, marital status and ethnicity, to examine the impact of marital status on women's lives. The tables indicate there are differences between ethnic groups and within the South Asian category. Marital status has a disproportionate impact for Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Indian groups than white and Afro-Caribbean groups. This suggests my sample is representative of the national data. In my sample, Hindu and Sikh (Indian) cohabiting women were more likely to have degrees than Moslem (Pakistani/Bangladeshi) women. Moslem (Pakistani/Bangladeshi) women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage than Hindu or Sikh (Indian) women.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION AND MARITAL STATUS

In my sample, religion influenced whether women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Moslem women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage (13 out of 30, 43%), followed by Sikh (9 out of 30, 30%) and Hindu (8 out of 30, 27%) women. Are there differences between ethnic groups regarding women's marital status? What is the relationship between marital status, ethnicity, economic activity and education?

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, MARITAL STATUS AND ETHNICITY

What effect does marital status have on women's economic activity? The following tables provide figures from 1984, 1990 and 1994 for economic activity, marital status and ethnicity, for all women and women aged 25-30.

Table 8.7 Economic Activity, Marital Status and Ethnicity (all women).

ETHNIC GROUP / YEAR	IN EMPLOYMENT MARITAL STATUS ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR	ILO/OECD UNEMPLOYED MARITAL STATUS (per cent) ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR
ALL WOMEN										
1984	35	24	47	-	44	4	4	4	-	9
1990	40	27	54	77	53	3	2	3	6	6
1994	39	24	55	71	50	3	3	3	6	7
WHITE WOMEN										
1984	35	25	47	-	49	4	4	4	-	9
1990	41	28	54	77	53	3	2	3	6	6
1994	40	25	54	71	51	3	3	3	6	6
INDIAN WOMEN										
1984	30	12	47	-	34	7	4	9	-	37
1990	35	13	54	79	33	5	3	6	21	11
1994	35	18	51	82	46	5	2	6	18	35
PAKISTANI/BANGLADESHI WOMEN										
1984	9	2	18	-	59	7	7	6	-	-
1990	11	6	17	-	33	4	2	6	-	-
1994	11	7	16	36	25	4	3	4	31	26
AFRO-CARIBBEAN WOMEN										
1984	43	28	64	-	60	8	7	9	-	16
1990	46	36	70	57	54	6	6	5	9	5
1994	36	25	57	70	42	8	8	7	4	15

Source: LFS 1984, 1990 and 1994.

Table 8.8 Economic Activity, Marital Status and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30).

ETHNIC GROUP / YEAR	IN EMPLOYMENT MARITAL STATUS ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR	ILO/OECD UNEMPLOYED MARITAL STATUS (per cent) ALL	SING	MARR	COHAB	DIVOR
ALL WOMEN										
1984	53	77	48	-	47	8	8	8	-	11
1990	65	76	61	80	47	6	6	6	6	8
1994	65	68	64	76	41	6	8	5	5	10
WHITE WOMEN										
1984	54	79	49	-	47	8	8	8	-	11
1990	66	77	62	81	47	6	5	6	5	8
1994	67	69	67	76	42	6	7	5	5	9
INDIAN WOMEN										
1984	47	77	44	-	66	11	14	11	-	34
1990	64	93	60	100	100	8	7	7	-	-
1994	65	88	55	100	49	7	3	7	-	25
PAKISTANI/BANGLADESHI WOMEN										
1984	13	-	13	-	-	5	-	5	-	-
1990	22	-	22	-	51	6	-	7	-	-
1994	25	72	19	-	21	4	19	1	-	20
AFRO-CARIBBEAN WOMEN										
1984	52	52	51	-	63	14	13	13	-	37
1990	66	65	80	37	41	10	13	-	25	-
1994	56	58	53	66	27	12	17	10	-	-

Source: LFS 1984, 1990 and 1994.

As shown in table 8.6, single women from all ethnic groups, (with the exception of Afro-Caribbean), had significantly higher numbers of women who were in employment compared to married women, which is similar to those cohabiting.

Single women (from all ethnic groups), and cohabiting women, (from all ethnic groups, with the exception of Afro-Caribbean

in 1990), were more likely to be in employment than married women. This suggests my sample is representative of the national data. My data indicates that single and cohabiting women were more likely to be in employment than married women.

Marital status has a disproportionate impact on economic activity for different ethnic groups. When we control for age (table 8.6), the findings suggest, marital status has more impact on Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women than Afro-Caribbean and white women. There are differences between ethnic groups and there are also differences within the South Asian category. This suggests my sample is representative of the national data. In my sample, those who had an arranged marriage were less likely to be employed than those who were cohabiting and single.

CHANGES OVER TIME

The following sections will examine data from the LFS for ten years (1984-1994) on economic activity, education and marital status, to investigate whether changes for different ethnic groups are occurring at different rates. As my age cohort (25-30) indicates rapid social change is taking place amongst this age group, does data from the LFS also demonstrate this?

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

What is the relationship between economic activity and ethnicity? Have the numbers of South Asian women in employment shown an increase? Are some South Asian women moving out of the private arena and into public spheres, hence experiencing a public form of patriarchy? Data from 10 years of the LFS was analysed (1984-1994), as well as data for the 25-30 age cohort.

Economic Activity and Ethnicity

The following tables provide figures for all women from 1984-1994 and women aged 25-30 for economic activity and ethnic origin.

Table 8.9 Economic Activity and Ethnicity (all women).

YEAR	ETHNIC ORIGIN (per cent)				
	ALL (TOTAL)	WHITE	AFRO CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
1984	35	35	43	30	6
1985	36	36	40	28	5
1986	36	36	40	31	7
1987	37	37	45	30	8
1988	38	39	48	34	9
1989	40	40	49	37	10
1990	40	41	46	35	11
1991	40	40	49	34	11
1992	49	49	54	52[8]	16
1993	49	50	49	50	17
1994	49	50	51	49	20

Source: LFS 1984-1994.[9]

Table 8.10 Economic Activity and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30).

YEAR	ETHNIC ORIGIN (per cent)				
	ALL (TOTAL)	WHITE	AFRO CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
1984	53	54	52	47	11
1985	54	54	56	47	10
1986	54	55	52	50	13
1987	56	57	63	41	10
1988	59	59	66	58	12
1989	63	64	72	67	10
1990	65	66	66	64	22
1991	64	65	68	56	16
1992	64	66	59	61	15
1993	66	67	50	60	22
1994	66	67	57	66	25

Source: LFS 1984-1994.

As shown in table 8.9, there has been an increase in economic activity for women from all ethnic groups in the last ten years. The numbers of white and Indian women who are economically active are similar, for Afro-Caribbean women the

[8] There has been a dramatic increase for Indian women who are economically active from 1991 to 1992. This may be due to the changing of LFS data collection. Between 1984 and 1991 the survey was carried out annually, with results published relating to the March to May quarter. From 1992, the LFS questionnaire changed and has been carried out every quarter with a sample size of 60,000 households. There are methodological and quarterly differences between the annual and quarterly series which may affect comparability. Quarterly estimates for the population of Indian ethnic origin have been more variable than other ethnic groups, probably as a result of sampling variability. This change should not be taken as indicative of a trend. Furthermore, there has also been a change in the question on ethnic definition since 1991 (Sly 1994, 1995). This explanation was provided by Quantime and the LFS helpline.

[9] There is a discrepancy between the figures in this table and those in table 8.7. The figures in table 8.7 separate those who are employed and unemployed, whereas the figures in this table are for those who are economically active.

numbers are higher. For Pakistani/Bangladeshi women, the numbers remain low, but there has been a dramatic increase. The numbers of Pakistani/ Bangladeshi women who are economically active remain less than half of those from all other ethnic groups. However for the 25-30 age cohort (table 8.10), the increase is more apparent. There are different rates of change for different ethnic groups, the greatest being for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women.

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION

What is the relationship between highest qualification and ethnicity? Are some South Asian women moving out of the public arena and into public spheres, via education? Data from 10 years of the LFS was analysed (1984 to 1994).

Highest Qualification and Ethnicity

The following tables provide figures from 1984-1994 for highest qualification and ethnic origin for all women and for women aged 25-30.

Table 8.11 Highest Qualification (degrees) and Ethnicity (all women).

YEAR	ETHNIC ORIGIN (per cent)				
	ALL	WHITE	AFRO CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
1984	3	2	3	5	2
1985	3	3	3	4	2
1986	3	3	3	4	1
1987	3	3	4	5	2
1988	3	3	4	5	2
1989	3	3	4	5	2
1990	4	4	5	7	2
1991	4	4	6	6	3
1992	3	3	3	4	2
1993	3	3	4	5	1
1994	4	4	3	4	2

Source: LFS 1984-1994.

Table 8.12 Highest Qualification (degrees) and Ethnicity (women aged 25-30).

YEAR	ETHNIC ORIGIN (per cent)				
	ALL	WHITE	AFRO CARIBBEAN	INDIAN	PAKISTANI/ BANGLADESHI
1984	9	9	3	13	2
1985	10	10	1	11	8
1986	9	9	4	7	3
1987	9	9	3	6	5
1988	8	9	3	8	3
1989	9	9	2	15	1
1990	9	10	5	13	3
1991	9	9	6	16	7
1992	9	9	9	15	3
1993	9	9	8	14	4
1994	10	10	8	21	5

Source: LFS 1984-1994.

As shown in table 8.11, the numbers of white women obtaining degrees has slightly increased. For Afro-Caribbean and Indian women the numbers have fluctuated. For the 25-30 age cohort (table 8.12), the numbers for Afro-Caribbean, Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women have fluctuated, but have shown an increase. In comparison to other ethnic groups, the numbers of Indian women obtaining degrees is relatively high. They are more likely to obtain a degree than any other ethnic group. Although, the numbers of Pakistani/Bangladeshi women are comparatively low, overall there has been an increase. This suggests my sample is representative of the national data. In my sample, Hindu and Sikh (Indian) women were more likely to have degrees than Moslem (Pakistani/Bangladeshi) women.

CONCLUSION

The LFS indicates my sample is representative of the national data and has enabled me to make a comparison, examining the effect of social change and whether there are differences between ethnic groups. Marital status has a differential impact on economic activity and education for different ethnic groups. When controlling for age (25-30), marital status has more impact on Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups, than it does for Afro-Caribbean and white groups. There are differences

between ethnic groups and there are also differences within the South Asian category. The data has also indicated the extent of rapid social change for women from the 25-30 age cohort.

Education and Employment influence women's marital status. Women are less likely to marry if they are highly educated and employed. Marital status has a significant impact on women's lives. However, marital status has a differential impact for different ethnic groups. High numbers of white and Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women who are not married, (single/cohabiting/ divorced), are more likely to be employed and educated than Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (Moslem) women who are married. Indian women (Hindu), if they are highly educated, are less likely to marry than Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women. This is demonstrated in the LFS and in my own data. In my sample of 60 women, Moslem women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage than Hindu or Sikh women. All single women from all three groups (Hindu, Sikh, Moslem), were highly educated and in high positions in the division of labour.

In the last ten years, there has been a significant change in economic activity for South Asian women. The numbers of Indian (Hindu and Sikh) women in employment has shown a gradual increase and is comparable to white women. There has been a rapid increase for Pakistani/Bangladeshi (Moslem) women, however these numbers remain low. South Asian women are more likely to be employed, although there are differences within the South Asian category. The numbers of Indian women in employment are similar to those of white and Afro-Caribbean women, yet the numbers for Pakistani/ Bangladeshi women are less than half that of women from other ethnic groups. This indicates my 25-30 age cohort are an important group, since they demonstrate the extent of rapid social change.

There are more Indian women who have degrees than women in other ethnic groups. However, there are differences for the South Asian category. The numbers for Pakistani/Bangladeshi

have increased, but remain low. For the 25-30 age cohort, the numbers have fluctuated for all ethnic groups, but shown an overall increase. Indian women are still the highest group obtaining degrees in the 25-30 age cohort. This data also indicates the 25-30 age cohort are the most important group in which rapid social change is taking place.

Religion has a significant impact on whether women get highly educated and enter employment. The LFS data indicates Pakistani/ Bangladeshi (Moslem) women have the lowest levels of education and the lowest rates of employment compared to all other ethnic groups. This suggests my sample is representative of the national data. In my sample of 60 women, Moslem women had lower levels of education compared to Hindu and Sikh women and were less likely to be employed. Religion is related to education and employment, and has a significant impact upon women's lives. Religion can be regarded as a set of beliefs and a set of social sanctions which are part of the social structure. South Asian religions contain beliefs which encourage women to stay inside the home, be the homemaker and look after the family.

Although the statistical analysis of my sample indicated religion did not affect respondent's views, the qualitative data did. Respondents were asked questions on religion, did they participate in religious activities (for example attending temples/mosques), did they feel religion influenced their lives and did they feel religion was important? All women from the three religious groups (Hindu, Sikh and Moslem) felt their religion was part of South Asian culture and was related to cultural practices. However, religion was more important to Moslem women, as they felt it was part of their lives and something they had grown up with and respected. Married Moslem women emphasised the need to maintain their commitment to Islam. Their religion provided a sense of cohesion and positive group identification, which these women felt separated them from other groups. This was further linked to issues of

arranged marriages and purdah, which for some women was a way of life. Married Moslem women were nearly always employed by a member of their own ethnic group and religion.

There are significant differences between ethnic groups. Religion plays a greater part in the lives of Moslem married women than it does for Hindu and Sikh women. The religious background of respondent's influenced whether they had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry.

The LFS indicates my sample is representative of the national data. Marital status has a differential impact on economic activity and education for different ethnic groups. When controlling for age (25-30), marital status has more impact on Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups than it does for Afro-Caribbean and white groups. There are differences within the ethnic groups and there are also differences within the South Asian category. The data also indicates the extent of rapid social change which is taking place for the 25-30 age cohort of South Asian women.

9
Conclusion

My findings have shown that amongst South Asian women in British society there are two forms of patriarchy, (private and public). Patriarchy can be defined as a form of social organisation in which men hold power and are able to control and dominate women through the social systems of organisation. These may be internal to the household, (arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour and domestic finance) or external to the household, (the state: education or the labour market: employment). The pattern of gender relations for South Asian women indicate ethnicity has an impact on the different forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women. Moslem women experience an intense form of private patriarchy, followed by Sikh and Hindu women. Others (independent women) experience a public form of patriarchy. There are significant changes occurring for the younger women in the sample, indicating a move from private to public patriarchy.

Private patriarchy is based upon the household as the main site of women's oppression, this takes place through arranged marriages, the giving of dowries, the distribution of domestic labour and domestic financial organisation. This form of patriarchy was experienced by 'traditional' women. Traditional women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry, they performed the majority of domestic labour tasks and had little or no control over domestic finance. They had low levels of education, (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), and were in low positions in the division of labour.

Public patriarchy is based upon the labour market (employment) as the main site of women's oppression. The household is no longer the main site of these women's oppression, but still exists as a patriarchal structure. This form of patriarchy was experienced by 'independent' women. Independent women were highly educated (those who had a BA or MA) and in high positions in the division of labour (professional, semi-professional). They had not had an arranged marriage and were not given a dowry, they shared domestic labour tasks and

jointly controlled domestic finance.

Education and employment influenced the forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women. Education is linked to employment. Highly educated women were in high positions in the division of labour. If women had lower levels of education, they were in low positions in the division of labour.

INFLUENCES ON FORMS OF PATRIARCHY EXPERIENCED BY SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN

Religion

Religion was used as a proxy for women's ethnicity, culture and national identity, it was expected to make a difference to the forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women. It was assumed that differences between the three religious groups would be found, with Moslem women experiencing an extreme form of private patriarchy, followed by Sikh and Hindu women experiencing a less extreme form.

Religion influenced whether South Asian women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry. Moslem women were more likely to have had an arranged marriage, followed by Sikh and Hindu women. Religion did not influence attitudes on arranged marriages, but it did influence practices. Religion is a patriarchal institution, its content oppresses and subordinates women.

Education

Level of education influenced the position of South Asian women within households and the forms of patriarchy they experienced. Once women become educated, this has a significant impact on their lives. Education influenced whether women were traditional or independent and whether they had an arranged marriage.

Employment

Women's position in the division of labour influenced their position within households.

The link between education and employment is important. Education affects women's employment levels. The relationship between education and employment is reflected in the degree to which South Asian women are independent and the extent to which they will have an arranged marriage. Education influenced forms of patriarchy experienced by women, which in turn influenced how women were defined.

STRUCTURES OF PATRIARCHY

1. The Household - is the main site of women's oppression in which private patriarchy exists. It includes the family which is a central part of society's power structure and a source of women's oppression. The household includes:

a) Domestic Labour - Men benefit from women performing domestic labour for them, their resistance to change and their refusal to participate is a demonstration of their power over women. Domestic labour is a female activity. Men do not perform domestic labour to a significant extent.

Level of education influenced respondent's views on domestic labour. Highly educated respondents, (those who had a BA or MA), emphasised a sharing of roles and said their partners participated in domestic labour. Respondents with lower levels of education, (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), performed the majority of domestic labour tasks.

Women's position in the division of labour influenced their views on domestic labour. Respondents in high positions in the division of labour, (semi-professional, non-manual, students), were more likely to share domestic labour tasks and indicated similar responses to those who were highly educated.

Respondents in low positions in the division of labour, (housewives, skilled manual, semi-skilled), carried out the majority of domestic labour tasks and indicated similar responses to those with low levels of education, (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications).

b) Arranged Marriages - Marriage is an area where traditional South Asian women are oppressed. Heterosexuality is the norm and traditional South Asian women are punished if they deviate from this norm. Sexual behaviour becomes bound up with ideas of ownership, domination and submission and is controlled by men. Women are treated as sex objects and different moral codes exist for men and women. Arranged marriages are a form of patriarchal control to keep women in a subordinate and powerless position. The qualitative data indicated the complexity and diversity of women's views on arranged marriages. Traditional women felt arranged marriages were part of their cultural identity and wanted their own children to have arranged marriages. However, independent women felt arranged marriages degraded and humiliated women and wanted to reject the tradition of arranged marriages.

Level of education influenced respondent's views on arranged marriages. Highly educated women, (those with a BA or MA), regarded arranged marriages as being oppressive for women. They did not have, or intend to have an arranged marriage. Women with lower levels of education, (those with 'O' levels or no qualifications), regarded arranged marriages as being positive for women and had an arranged marriage.

Women's position in the division of labour influenced their views on arranged marriages. Respondents in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual), indicated similar responses to those with low levels of education. Respondents in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, professional), indicated similar responses to those who were highly educated.

Religion did not influence respondent's views on arranged marriages, but did affect whether South Asian women would have an arranged marriage.

c) Dowries - Arranged marriages include a financial contract (dowry) in which money and/or material possessions are exchanged. Dowries are related to arranged marriages and are used to sell women as property, for men's advantage. Men will only marry women who have a large dowry to offer. It is men who gain from dowries and not women. Dowries are used to keep traditional South Asian women powerless and dependent upon men. The qualitative data indicated the complexity and diversity of women's views on dowries. Traditional women felt dowries were part of their South Asian identity and would give their own daughters a dowry and expected to receive one for their sons. However, independent women said dowries were used to sell women as property for marriage and did not want to continue the tradition of giving or receiving dowries.

Level of education influenced respondent's views on dowries. Highly educated women, (those who had a BA or MA), said dowries degraded and humiliated women. These women had not had an arranged marriage and were not given a dowry. Respondents with lower levels of education, (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), said dowries were part of the tradition, custom and identity of South Asian people. These women had an arranged marriage and were given a dowry.

Women's position in the division of labour influenced their views on dowries. Respondents in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual), indicated similar responses to those with low levels of education. Respondents in high positions in the division of labour (semi-professional, professional), indicated similar responses to those who were highly educated.

Religion did not influence respondent's views on dowries.

However, religion did affect whether South Asian women were given a dowry.

d) Domestic Finance - indicates who has power over whom and who controls whom. Money is an area which indicates how dependent women are on men. Traditional South Asian women are dependent on men as they are not allowed to work and so are unable to leave oppressive marriages. Men want women to be dependent upon them, to control and dominate them.

Highly educated respondents, (those who had a BA or MA), had their own bank account and both partners knew each other's earnings. Respondents with lower levels of education, (those who had 'O' levels or no qualifications), did not have their own bank account and did not know how much their husbands earned.

Women's position in the division of labour influenced their views on domestic finance. Respondents in high positions in the division of labour, (non-manual, semi-professional, students), had greater control over finance and indicated similar responses to those who were highly educated. Respondents in low positions in the division of labour (skilled manual), had little or no control over domestic finance and indicated similar responses to those with low levels of education.

Religion did not influence respondent's views on domestic finance.

2. The State - is one manifestation of patriarchal power reflecting other deeper structures of oppression, such as women's exclusion from its formal institutions. The exclusion of women from power indicates how the structures and institutions of the state have been made by men and embody their interests rather than those of women. The state is an instrument of patriarchal domination, it is sexist, racist and capitalist. It is part of an unequal society and is important

in the transformation of private to public patriarchy. It provides independent South Asian women with access to education which enables them to enter the labour market. These women are able to escape from the household (private patriarchy), reject arranged marriages and become economically self-sufficient by participating in the labour market, (at the cost of entering into public patriarchy).

3. The Labour Market - Women's position in the labour market, their lower pay and marginalisation leads to their dependence upon men, pushing women to serve men's domestic and economic needs. Women are unable to achieve full economic independence and equality in the paid workforce, as they are also expected to run the home and serve the needs of men. The labour market is also a source of escape for independent South Asian women, it enables them to participate in employment and become economically self-sufficient. Independent South Asian women can leave households (private patriarchy), reject arranged marriages and enter the labour market (public patriarchy).

4. Culture - The dominant norms and values of South Asian culture oppress South Asian women. It is a culture which worships men but subordinates women. Women are oppressed by having to be submissive, this is reinforced through religious customs and beliefs (Islamic, Hindu, Sikh). The South Asian media portrays women as the madonna/whore image, they are either pure virgins or used as sex objects for men's pleasure. This is reinforced through South Asian films and pornography.

STRUCTURES AND FORMS OF PATRIARCHY

Forms of Patriarchy	PRIVATE	PUBLIC
Dominant Structure	Household: (arranged marriages, dowries, domestic labour and domestic finance).	State (education) Labour Market (employment)
Wider Patriarchal Structures	State Labour Market Culture	Household Culture
Mode of Expropriation	Individual Patriarch	Collective Organisations
Type of Woman	Traditional	Independent

My theory of patriarchy is similar to Walby (1990) but different. Firstly, I would argue there are four main structures of patriarchy (household, state, labour market and culture), instead of Walby's six (household, state, employment, culture, sexuality and violence). Violence and sexuality are important to women's position within households, but they can be included in the household rather than being separate structures. Violence and sexuality are directly linked to arranged marriages. As traditional South Asian women have arranged marriages and are given dowries, this indicates the situation is different for South Asian and white women. The household is an important structure for South Asian women and their position within it affects what they will do with their lives, (whether they become educated, employed or have an arranged marriage). Secondly, the forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women are extreme forms of public and private patriarchy. Finally my theory of patriarchy applies specifically to one ethnic group (South Asian women).

In my research, patriarchy was either private or public and women were either traditional or independent. The form of patriarchy is directly mapped onto the type of woman, because different women experience different forms of patriarchy. The type of women and the form of patriarchy they experience is dependent upon their level of education and in turn, their position in the division of labour. Patriarchy exists along a continuum and is not necessarily based upon a rigid dichotomy.

The form of patriarchy women experience depends on which is the dominant structure in their lives at one particular time. It could be the household (private patriarchy) or the state (public patriarchy). The public and private are both interrelated and connected by a patriarchal structure and have different effects upon each other. In order to examine different forms of patriarchy it is important to analyse the interrelationship between the four structures.

In private patriarchy women are exploited in the household, this exploitation is maintained by their non-admission into the public sphere. Women are excluded from the public sphere, yet patriarchal relations outside the household are crucial in shaping patriarchal relations within it. In public patriarchy, women are exploited at all levels and through all structures. Women are included within the public sphere, but at the same time, are disadvantaged within it. The household is related to the state (education), as it is in the household where South Asian women decide if they become educated, whether they have an arranged marriage and if they become employed. Their educational level in turn affects their position within households. In the household South Asian women learn the cultural standards of acceptable behaviour. In public spheres, these ideas of culture are reinforced through religion, education and the media. The household is related to other structures of patriarchy and affects whether South Asian women will have an education, participate in paid employment or have an arranged marriage. Male power is not necessarily confined to the public world of employment and education, it also extends into the private world of the family and marriage.

The different forms of patriarchy are dependent upon the relationship of the four structures: household, state, labour market and culture. Some structures are more important than others, depending upon whether the main form of patriarchy is private or public. In both forms of patriarchy all four structures are present. There are different patterns of

patriarchy for the different South Asian groups. Moslem women experience extreme forms of private patriarchy, followed by Sikh and Hindu. Others (Independent women) experience public patriarchy. A change is beginning to take place, with South Asian women moving out of the private sphere into the public arena.

In private patriarchy, the expropriation of women's labour takes place primarily by individual patriarchs within the household. Whilst in public patriarchy it is collective. In private patriarchy, the principle strategy is exclusionary and in public it is segregationist. In private patriarchy, household production is the dominant structure, in the public form it is replaced by the state and the labour market.

The private and public worlds are both interrelated and connected by a patriarchal structure. Patriarchy also rests upon economic exploitation and the use or threat of force. Patriarchy is not a derivative of economic power or class society and cannot be reduced to other forms of domination. It has to be understood in its own terms.

The forms of patriarchy experienced by South Asian women are more extreme forms of public and private patriarchy as defined by Walby (1990). British middle and upper class women in the early twentieth century were seen to be sexually pure, had to be attached to one man, had a form of arranged marriage and were given a form of dowry. This is similar to private patriarchy experienced by traditional South Asian women. British women were also unable to divorce and were regarded as being men's property and were unable to own property. This is very similar to the situation for many traditional South Asian women today who are trapped in arranged marriages and are unable to divorce due to the stigma and shame it would bring upon the family. They have no control in the marriage relationship, they do not own property and are the property of their husbands. Traditional women are regarded as property to

be bought and sold for men's convenience, through the partaking of dowries. Women in early twentieth century Britain were controlled by their fathers, before being passed on to another man, their husband.

The significance of the state is different for South Asian women and men than for white women and men. White men have access to the state in which they are able to control white women. South Asian men do not have access to the state to control South Asian women. Racism and minority status mean South Asian men do not benefit from patriarchal social structures in the same way as white men do, benefit from patriarchy does not distinguish South Asian men from South Asian women. South Asian women have been dominated patriarchally in different ways by men of different colours. The state is both patriarchal and racist. The state divides and separates different ethnic groups (South Asian and white). Despite the fact that the state supports systems of domination, nevertheless by its function of developing education, it has provided an avenue for women's emancipation. Education is a source of change for South Asian women. As they become highly educated they are able to leave households (private patriarchy) and enter the labour market (public patriarchy). At the same time, some Moslem men may have access to the local state, (through the setting up of schools, communities centres, mosques), in highly populated South Asian areas. This means some South Asian men are able to control and dominate certain South Asian women through the state.

Culture is another structure of patriarchy which includes the different norms and values of expected behaviour for South Asian women, this is also related to religious practices and beliefs which encourage women to stay inside the home and be the homemaker. These ideas are stronger for Moslem women than for Hindu and Sikh women. However, independent women who become educated and move away from the expected standards men and women <u>should</u> behave are no longer adhering to the strict codes

of submissive behaviour which is applied to South Asian women. These women are adopting independent values as they enter the world of work and become educated. They are not having arranged marriages. Even though some women are moving away from a private form of patriarchy, they are included in the public world and are subordinated within it (social closure, segregation). The change to a more public form of patriarchy means there is less control from a personal patriarch and more control from collective patriarchy in institutions. The relationship between structures is different in private and public patriarchy. The reason for change is independent South Asian women's access to education. Level of education affects women's access to employment and influences their position in the division of labour. The link between education and employment is important, as education is the primary determinant of women's position in the labour market.

The change from private to a more public form of patriarchy is evident. Traditional South Asian women want to retain the custom of arranged marriages and the partaking of dowries, they want to hold on to these traditions as part of their cultural identity. Independent South Asian women become highly educated and employed, they no longer want to have arranged marriages, instead they want freedom of choice. Education is an avenue which enables independent women to enter the labour market in which they are now experiencing a more public form of patriarchy.

APPENDIX 1 - BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF SUBJECTS

HINDU WOMEN

DEFINITION OF SUBJECT	AGE	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	HIGHEST QUALIFICATION
1	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	BTEC
2	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	BTEC
3	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
4	29	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
5	27	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'A' LEVELS
6	25	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
7	25	NON-MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
8	28	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
9	25	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
10	26	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	'O' LEVELS
11	26	STUDENT	SINGLE	MA
12	27	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	BA
13	27	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	BA
14	27	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
15	28	STUDENT	SINGLE	MA
16	27	PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
17	26	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
18	27	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
19	25	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA
20	25	STUDENT	SINGLE	MA

SIKH WOMEN

DEFINITION OF SUBJECT	AGE	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	HIGHEST QUALIFICATION
21	25	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
22	25	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
23	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
24	27	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	BTEC
25	28	SELF-EMPLOYED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
26	26	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
27	30	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
28	30	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
29	29	SEMI-SKILLED	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
30	25	SEMI-SKILLED	SINGLE	'O' LEVELS
31	26	SEMI-SKILLED	SINGLE	BTEC
32	26	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA
33	25	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA
34	28	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
35	26	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
36	25	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
37	30	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
38	26	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
39	30	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	MA
40	26	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA

MOSLEM WOMEN

DEFINITION OF SUBJECT	AGE	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	HIGHEST QUALIFICATION
41	29	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	CSE'S
42	30	HOUSEWIFE	MARRIED	NONE
43	27	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	NONE
44	29	HOUSEWIFE	MARRIED	NONE
45	28	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	NONE
46	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	CSE'S
47	30	HOUSEWIFE	MARRIED	NONE
48	30	HOUSEWIFE	MARRIED	NONE
49	27	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	NONE
50	26	SKILLED MANUAL	MARRIED	'O' LEVELS
51	26	NON-MANUAL	MARRIED	BTEC
52	27	NON-MANUAL	MARRIED	'A' LEVELS
53	26	NON-MANUAL	MARRIED	BTEC
54	26	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA
55	25	STUDENT	SINGLE	'A' LEVELS
56	25	STUDENT	SINGLE	'A' LEVELS
57	28	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA
58	28	SEMI-PROFESSIONAL	SINGLE	BA
59	27	NON-MANUAL	SINGLE	BA
60	26	STUDENT	SINGLE	BA

APPENDIX 2 - THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

a) What is your name?
b) How old are you?
c) Who are the people that live in your household?
c1) Ages and sexes of children?
d) Are you married?
e) If not, are you single/divorced/separated/widowed/living with your partner?

2. EMPLOYMENT

a) Do you have a job?
b) What is your occupation?
If work;
c) How many hours a week do you work?
c1) Do you enjoy your work? Explain.
c2) What are your reasons for working? Explain.
If married or living with partner;
d) What is your husband's/partner's occupation?
d1) Does your husband/partner think it's a good idea for you to work? Explain.
d2) Would your husband/partner mind if you changed your job? Explain.
d3) Have you ever done any work at home that you were paid for (homeworking)? Explain.
e) Does your work affect your family life (housework/looking after the children, your husband/partner)? Explain.
f) Do you think it's a good idea for South Asian women to go out to work? Why? Explain.

3. EDUCATION

a) What are your academic qualifications (number of and grades).

CSE
GCSE/'O' Levels
A Levels
S Levels
HND/Diploma
Access Course
Bachelors Degree
Masters Degree
Mphil
PhD
Other.

b) Is this the standard of education you wanted to achieve? Why? Explain.

c) Does a woman's standard of education affect her position regarding marriage in South Asian society (who she marries, when she marries)? How? Explain.
d) How are highly educated women (Bachelors and Masters level and beyond) regarded by men and women in South Asian society? Explain.
e) Is education for men and women viewed differently in South Asian society? Explain.
f) Who/What decides how far women are educated in South Asian society? Explain.
g) Do you think it is important for South Asian women to be educated up to and beyond degree level? Why? Explain.

4. THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

a) Who does the following tasks;
i) If married or living with partner (husband or partner/wife/both same/husband or partner more/wife more/neither),
ii) If not married who does it,
iii) How often (once a day/once a week/twice a week/once a month/other/neither) and
iv) Who performed the activity on the last occasion?

Shopping (food/groceries)
Cooking (breakfast/lunch/dinner)
Cleaning table/setting table
Washing dishes/drying dishes
Cleaning (vacuuming/dusting)
(oven/fridge)
(bathroom/toilet)
Washing (changing sheets/folding/ironing)
Childcare if under 5 (bathes/changes nappies/feeds)
Childcare all ages (bathes/takes to school/plays with)
Homecare (plugs/gardening/taking out rubbish).

b) Approximately how many hours a day do you spend on housework?
c) How many hours a day does your husband/partner spend on housework?
d) Who do you think should do the housework? Why? Explain.
e) Why do you think it's mostly women in South Asian society who do the housework? Explain.
f) Do you think a woman's place is in the home? Why? Explain.
g) Does your culture influence whether women should stay at home and be housewives? How and why? Explain.

5. FINANCIAL ORGANISATION

If work;

a) Who decides what the money you earn is spent on?

a1) Are you able to spend the money you earn on whatever you want?

a2) What do you spend the money on?

If work and married;

b) What does your husband spend his money on?

b1) Do you tell your husband/partner what you spend your money on?

b2) Does your husband/partner know how much you earn?

b3) Do you know how much your husband/partner earns?

b4) Do you have a bank account?

If yes; If no, go to d).

c) Is it your own or is it a joint account?

c1) Can you access money any time you want from the account?

d) Where do you get the money from if you want to buy something for yourself (clothes/shoes/make-up)?

e) If you wanted to buy a washing machine, would you ask your husband/partner to buy it, or would you save up for it yourself? Why?

UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

6. MARRIAGE

* Description of marriage; when, type, contact with husband?
* Definition and views of arranged marriages; importance, common, who decides?
* Parental/cultural influence of arranged marriages?
* Views/cultural views on position of single women; free choice of partner?

7. DOWRIES

* Definition/views of dowries; importance, common, why given?
* Parental/cultural view of giving dowries; how decide?
* Relationship of position of women and dowry?
* Given dowry; description, monetary value?
* Own children and dowry; sons (expect to receive), daughters (except to give), why?

8. RELIGION

* How religious; temples, pray, read?
* Influence of religion on life; how, why?
* Views on religion; importance, why?
* Culture/religion; relationship, expectations of, why?
* Family/religion; relationship, expectations of, why?

9. VIEWS ON TRADITIONAL/INDEPENDENT WOMEN

* Feelings regarding independent women/cultural view?
* Feelings regarding traditional women/cultural view?
* What is the difference; why?
* Best position for South Asian women; why?

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